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ART. I. — 1. *Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani.* Di GIUSEPPE MICALI. 3 tom. 8vo.

2. *Monumenti per servire alla Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani, raccolti, esposti e publicati* da GIUSEPPE MICALI. 1 tom. fol. Firenze: Tipografia all' Insegna di Dante. (*Molini.*) 1832.

GIUSEPPE MICALI was born, and received the first rudiments of his education, in Leghorn. He gave early proofs of that decided taste for antiquities and historical research, which was to win him so honorable a station among the writers of his age. Placed by the possession of an ample hereditary fortune beyond the reach of those cares, which so often chill the ambition and check the efforts of the young student, he was enabled to devote himself entirely to the cultivation of his mind and the prosecution of his favorite inquiries. After having laid the foundation of his education by an accurate study of classical literature, he directed his attention to that species of cultivation, which can only be acquired by an extensive and practical acquaintance with the world. With this view he visited different parts of Europe, and was gladly received into the society of many of the men of letters, who formed the brightest ornament of the last century. Among those, with whom he lived upon terms of the closest intimacy, were several of the distinguished members of the literary circle of Frederic the Second, and particularly the well-known Abbé Denina, with whom he formed a friendship

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that was dissolved only by death. We have before us, at this moment, several letters addressed to our author by Denina, in the last years of his life, which contain the warmest expressions of personal regard, and of the high expectations which he had formed of the promise of his young friend. Micali resided also in Paris from 1796 to 1799, and was an eyewitness of the fall of the Directory, and of the first brilliant steps of Napoleon.

But no part of his early studies was so advantageous to him, as the long series of diligent researches, which he carried on upon the site of the principal cities of Ancient Italy; frequently directing in person the excavations from which his materials were to be derived, and pursuing with his own eyes the numerous topographical investigations, the neglect of which had hitherto formed one of the chief obstacles to a satisfactory history of that remote period. An attentive study of numismatics strengthened and confirmed the views, which these preparatory researches had suggested; and, when he first put his hand to the composition of his history of "Italy before the Roman Conquest," there was hardly a spot of the peninsula which he had not visited, or an important monument which he had not examined.

This work was published in Florence, in 1810, in four volumes octavo, together with a folio "Atlas," containing sixty plates, illustrative of the manners and customs of the ancient Italians. Its object was as important as its plan was new. Ancient Italy had till then been the subject of puerile fables, or of researches purely antiquarian. Micali was the first who ventured to engage in the bold and hazardous task of separating the false from the true, in the fragments which have come down to us of the old writers, and of restoring the history of this primitive civilization, by drawing from its numerous monuments their varied and enigmatic records. His work was divided into two parts. The first is devoted to a descriptive examination of the original divisions and of the primitive inhabitants of the country. The second is a narrative of their revolutions and of the various incidents of their history.

The "History of Italy before the Roman Conquest," preceded the Roman History of Niebuhr, and, if we may be allowed to judge by the rank which these two celebrated works seem now to have permanently taken, has survived it.

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Niebuhr himself, who had attacked many of the positions of Micali in his first edition (1811), retracted his accusations in the last.

A second edition, with additions and corrections, was published in Florence in 1822; and four others have subsequently appeared in different parts of Italy. A French translation was published in Paris, but shamefully disfigured by the ignorance and the prepossessions of the translator.

These studies seem naturally to have led our author to the examination of another part of his national history hardly less obscure, and assuredly no less interesting, than that which he had treated with such marked success. This was the history of the "Commerce of the Maritime Republics of Italy." He had long been engaged in collecting materials for this work, when his attention was called back to his original theme, by the discoveries which were making in nearly all those parts of Italy, which had been distinguished as the seats of her earliest civilization. A new and strong light was thus thrown upon many questions, which at the beginning of his investigation had been purely conjectural; and he had the rare satisfaction to find, that the views, which he had adopted upon the authority of his first observations, were fully confirmed by all his subsequent discoveries. It is to this that we are indebted for the work, which forms more immediately the subject of the present paper, and of which we shall now proceed to give a full and minute analysis, taking, at the same time, the liberty to interweave such illustrations and observations of our own, as seem naturally to arise from, or be required by, the facts that we are called upon to relate.

1. The question concerning the name and origin of the first inhabitants of Italy has long been agitated in vain. The progress of geographical discovery has shown, that man may exist in almost any part of the globe. But he has always been found in a state of union. Origin everywhere escapes our researches. It is obvious, however, that the human race must have been most readily propagated in those regions, where the means of subsistence are most abundant and most easily obtained. The only course, that can afford a reasonable gratification to our curiosity, is, to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the condition of the people whom we find in possession of a country, without troubling ourselves about the fruitless inquiry, as to whence they came.

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The physical revolutions of Italy, of which so many and such positive proofs still remain, must, for at least a considerable space after its first settlement, have confined its inhabitants to the higher regions. But the frequently renewed experience of modern times shows how insufficient the terrors of nature are, to drive man from the spot which he has once made his home. Even here we witness a new triumph of human power; for man daily accomplishes what nature cannot, and strikes those with dread, to whom earthquakes and volcanoes had spoken in vain.

The natural fertility of Italy has been the subject of poetical rapture and rhetorical declamation from all antiquity.* The fables which represent man as springing from the soil, and from the trunks of trees, can but allude to the impenetrable antiquity of the human race in these happy regions. The tradition of an original and distinct race of native Italians was preserved in the historic ages; and the Aborigines mentioned by the Romans are the same, whom the Greeks found assembled in tribes, and whom they qualified, according to the invariable custom of that ingenious but vain people, by the contemptuous denomination of *barbarians*. From these, as from one common stock, sprang the people, who, under various names, occupied the chief portion of the Italian peninsula.

Their mode of life, like that of all men in this first epoch, we would say of aggregation rather than of society, was regulated by their physical wants and by the roughness of their manners. Acorns and roots, the spontaneous products of the soil, together with the game of their forests, supplied their daily food. Society has few charms for those who have never tasted its artificial pleasures; and it was only by the slow and natural progression from their first wild life to the more regular occupation of pasturage, that they were led to agriculture, the first decisive step in civilization. But even this step has seldom, if ever, been taken without some unusual external impulse. The fables of Janus and of Saturn, that golden age, so often and so sweetly sung, and which, from its unlikeness to any thing that we have ever seen, seems rather as a fiction than a reality, allude to this change, and probably indicate, at the same time, the sacerdo-

* The magnificent description of Virgil in the second Georgic, and that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first book of his Roman Antiquities, are the finest, but unfortunately too long to be introduced here.

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tal influence by which it was accomplished. The traces of a distinct class of priests, whose origin, although probably Egyptian, is rendered obscure by the same necessity which compelled them to clothe all their doctrines in the mystic veil of symbols and fables, are too evident to admit of any doubt. We shall have occasion to show in the sequel, how long this class preserved its separate station, and how far its power, though modified and restricted, continued to extend.

2. The first inhabitants of Italy dwelt among the mountains and highlands, while the low grounds were as yet unfit to receive or to nourish a permanent population. Descending from thence, as a scarcity of food or the increase of their numbers required, they began to divide themselves into separate tribes, whose members were bound together by those fragile ties, which can alone be formed in these early periods of society. The natural divisions of a country intersected in every direction by rivers and by mountains soon drew those artificial boundary lines between tribes of the same race, of which the influence has been so striking in every age of Italian history. The old writers have, fortunately for us, preserved the memory of a singular custom, by which the foundation of a large proportion of these new colonies was regulated.

Before the practice of tillage had become sufficiently general to place them beyond the reach of those casualties, by which a people, half nomad and half agricultural, is so often exposed to extreme want, the Italians were taught to propitiate the deity, whose wrath had been manifested in the failure of their harvests, by sacrificing to him all the productions of the following spring. The young of their flocks and of their herds, and even their own offspring, were mingled together in this bloody atonement. But, as an advancing civilization began to gain upon their manners and their feelings, this dreadful rite was softened, and the products of the sacred spring, instead of being offered in sacrifice to the deity, were set apart for a particular service, which was supposed to have the same effect in appeasing or in averting his wrath. When the children born during the consecrated year had attained to the age of manhood, they set forth under the guidance of chosen members of the priesthood in quest of new habitations. The favor of the deity attended them; and wherever, erecting their altars, they took possession of the soil, the

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original inhabitants gladly united with those, on whom the seal of the Divinity had been so strikingly set. There also the same observances were held sacred; and these children of the primitive family became the fathers of new and constantly multiplying colonies. It was thus, according to Pliny,* that the Piceni descended from the Sabines; and the Samnites, originating in the same way, gave rise themselves to the Lucani.†

The course pursued by the Italians, in the resistance which they opposed to the first invaders of their territory, indicates a certain degree of advancement in civil discipline. They had made some important steps towards social life. They lived in villages and in cots, as is still practised in Switzerland, and in many parts of Europe. These, according as they were more or less favored by their natural situation, grew and became large towns. This was especially the case in the vicinity of the larger water-courses. According to Ælian,‡ there were eleven hundred and ninety-seven of these places, which, by a use of the word which our language will hardly admit of, he calls *cities*. This progress was nowhere more sensible than in those tracts which border on the Mediterranean.

3. Unfortunately for early Italian history, nearly all the information, that we possess concerning it, has been derived from Greek historians and antiquaries, whose authority has been called in question by the more judicious portion even of their own countrymen. They were followed by the Latins, who, in so many parts of their literature, were little else than close imitators of the Greeks. It was by means of their settlements in southern Italy, that the attention of the Greeks was first directed to this subject; and various were the opinions which they hazarded concerning the origin of the people, whom they found in possession of the soil. Nearly all of them, however, concurred in claiming for themselves the glory of having been the first to occupy it; and the heroes of the Trojan war were hardly more celebrated for their military exploits, than for their supposed colonization of the chief places of the Italian peninsula. Some few of the Romans ventured to throw doubts upon this tradition; nor were there

* III. 5. † Strab. V. p. 158. Ed. Casaub. 1587.
‡ Var. Hist. IX. 16.

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historians wanting among the Greeks themselves, who were willing to confess its improbability. But antiquity had hallowed it. The people had seized upon it with that avidity, with which national and personal vanity grasps at whatever can serve to ennoble the obscure period of origin; and the fables of Æneas, of Hercules, and of an innumerable host of other chieftains, whose real history is no less uncertain than theirs, became inextricably mingled with the first epochs of Roman and of Italian history.

Yet a surer source was open to the Romans. When their great historians wrote, the original languages of the country were still spoken; and contained, as one of the most valuable portions of their literature, the annals and records of all their principal cities. In the times of Varro, the Etruscan annals, written in the eighth century of the nation, a period which, according to the most approved computation, corresponds to the close of the fourth century of Rome, were still in existence. The principal public acts and events, together with the names of the magistrates of each year, were carefully recorded in the pontifical annals. The memory of treaties, and of all other occurrences of more than usual importance, was preserved by inscriptions in bronze or on stone. Here then was the true fount of Italian history. But the Romans, content with the glory of their conquest, and pleased with the ingenious flattery of the Greeks, asked for nothing beyond those gorgeous fictions, which seemed to add new splendor to their triumph. The loss of these documents sets an impassable barrier to modern research upon several curious questions. But the monuments which still remain, and a critical examination of the most judicious among the ancients, have in a measure supplied this deficiency, and enabled our author to place these obscure epochs of his national history upon a more durable foundation, and one more accordant with the principles of enlightened criticism.

4. The territories, comprised under the name of ancient Italy, varied at different periods, with the progress of discovery, and with the changes incidental upon conquest. Its primitive name was *Saturnia*, so called from Saturn, whom the natives revered as the founder of their civil institutions.

"Salve magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus!"

The Greeks, referring to its geographical position, called

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it *Hesperia*, for the same reasons which led them, as their acquaintance with the Mediterranean and with the Atlantic became more accurate, to apply this name to Spain and to the Fortunate Islands.

> "Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
> Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ;
> Œnotrii coluere viri: nunc fama, minores
> Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem."

As their intercourse with the different parts of the country gave them a more precise idea of the extent and of the varieties of its population, they began to use the names of the tribes with which they had communication; and it is thus that we find *Ausonia*, *Œnotria*, *Ombrica*, and other denominations properly belonging to individual tribes, applied to the whole nation.

The name *Italy* was, at first, confined to the southern extremity of the peninsula, below the gulfs of St. Euphemia and of Squillace. From thence it gradually spread northward; and, in the time of Polybius, was already applied to the whole country, from the Sicilian sea to the Alps. It was used in this extensive sense during the social war; and the inscription *Vitelliu*, which we read on the money of that period, gives the common, and probably also the original Oscan form of it.

Etymologists have, with their usual subtilty, offered various explanations of these names. *Italy*, from its resemblance in sound to a word of the Greek language, was said to allude to the herds of oxen with which the whole country was filled. *Œnotria* signified the land of wine. Nor is it improbable, that the same usage, which has obtained among modern travellers, of designating particular countries by names indicative of their distinguishing characteristics, may have led to a more ready adoption by the Greeks of these words, which sounded to them so much like expressive terms of their own tongue. But we may safely venture to reject the genealogical origin, with which these, and various other denominations applied to particular parts of the country, were adorned by Grecian and Roman vanity.

Ausonia was, properly speaking, a large portion of lower Italy, inclusive of Campania. The same tract was subsequently called *Opicia*. A considerable part of central Italy was known to the Greeks as *Tyrrhenia*, without their having

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any very accurate idea of its extent, or of its boundaries. But *Italy* became, by degrees, the common name ; and, although it did not always include Cisalpine Gaul, was generally applied to the whole peninsula.

5. Proceeding now to examine more in detail the situation of the various districts of ancient Italy, the first people who demand our attention, are the Siculi or Siceli. The origin of this, as of all the other tribes of the country, has been variously accounted for. But the most reasonable theory makes them a branch of the Aurunci, who were immediate descendants of the great Oscan family. They were the first who ventured to come down from their native mountains into that district around the Tiber, which is still known as the Roman Campagna, or "Agro Romano." Their possessions reached as far as the base of the Apennines, in the direction of Faleria and Fescinnia.

The repeated attacks of the Umbri and other Aboriginals, with whom, according to Dionysius, the Pelasgi were associated in arms, gradually drove the Siculi from their original dwellings to the southern parts of the peninsula ; and, unable to make firm the hold, which they had gained at their onset, upon these new territories, they were finally constrained to abandon the mainland and take refuge in Sicily. Here they, in turn, became conquerors, chased the Sicani from the eastern coast, established their own seats in the spots which were thus left vacant, and eventually reduced the whole island under their power. This event is placed by some writers eighty years before the Trojan war ; by others, two hundred after it. The certainty of it, however, is in no way affected by the difficulty of fixing its precise date. The memory of the Siculi was preserved in central Italy long after their expulsion ; and in Sicily itself the Opician language continued to be spoken in the last days of the kingdom of Syracuse.

The Umbri also were mountaineers of Oscan origin. The extent of their early possessions is difficult to determine with accuracy ; but the concurrent testimony of the ancients proves, that they occupied large tracts on both sides of the Apennines. A valley in the centre of the lofty chain of Gargano bears, even to this day, the name of "Vale of the Umbri." Perugia was founded by one of their tribes ; and Ameria, another of their cities, was built, according to the elder Cato, as early as 381 years before Rome.

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This was the people by whom the Siculi were driven from their possessions in central Italy; and the Sabines, though a warlike and hardy race, suffered severely from their hostile excursions. But when at length their encroachments had brought them into immediate contact with the Etruscans, they were met by a people who were every way able to cope even with their renowned bravery. The long struggle, that ensued, terminated to the disadvantage of the former, who were henceforth compelled to set bounds to their ambition, and contract their dominions within narrower limits. Thus the Umbria best known in ancient geography extends from the eastern side of the Apennines beyond the Utente, near to the Po, and has for its natural boundaries on the west and the north the course of the Tiber and of the Nera. After their subjection by the Etruscans, all feelings of national animosity seem to have subsided, and the two tribes continued thenceforth to live in a state of union, which originated in political dependence, and was strengthened by a community of religious rites and of civil institutions.

6. History hardly presents an obscurer and more embarrassing question, than that of the Pelasgi-Tyrrheni. Their navigations have been described by the ancients, with the minuteness of history, but with all the coloring of fable. Nor do historians agree in the accounts which they have given of the origin and migrations of this people; some representing them in one light, others in another. The moderns also, with all their learning and research, have gone little further than to form what must at the best be considered as untenable, though ingenious hypotheses.

Enough, however, may be gathered with certainty from what has hitherto been written upon this subject, to show that a people bearing the name of *Pelasgi* made their appearance in Europe at an early period of ancient history; that they bore some part in the revolutions of the peninsula; that they acquired here the additional appellation of *Tyrrheni;* and that their wanderings to and fro, in Asia and in Europe, have a close connexion with many of the events of that obscure age of tradition and of fable. Thus much may be relied on; and the absolute failure of every attempt at minuter detail should convince us of the folly of wasting in idle conjectures the time, which may, with so much more advantage,

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be given to the study of points, that admit of clear and satisfactory illustration.

7. Such a one may be found in the history of the Etruscans. The works of Claudius,* of Dionysius, of Aristotle, and, in short, of all the writers by whom the events of Etruscan history, and the peculiarities of their manners and customs, had been minutely described, are lost ; but the numerous monuments which are brought to light from day to day, and those fragments of the ancients which have survived the general wreck of their works, afford an accurate, if not always a complete, guide to the critical historian.

The express testimony of Dionysius should satisfy us, that the Etruscans were of the primitive Italian stock. The incongruous systems, by which a Lydian and a Pelasgic origin have in turns been attributed to them, should alone be sufficient to convince us of the futility of these disputes, even were there any thing in the language, the manners, or the usages of the Etruscans to give color to such a theory. They were originally called *Raseni* by the natives ; *Tyrrheni*, or *Tyrseni*, by the Greeks ; *Tusci*, or *Etrusci*, by the Romans. During the first centuries of Rome, and after the subjection of the Umbri, the state of central Etruria was bounded by the following natural lines.

(1.) The summit of the winding chain of the Apennines, from the sources of the Serchio to those of the Tiber.

(2.) The Tiber, from its rise to the sea.

(3.) The coast, from the mouth of the Tiber to that of the Arno.

The early attention which this people paid to agriculture and to commerce, together with their courage and their skill in the use of arms, put their power upon a strong and durable foundation. In their wars with the Umbri, which are placed about five hundred years before the building of Rome, they were probably assisted by the Pelasgi. Previous to this epoch also, they had extended their possessions beyond the Apennines, into what is now called the Bolognese and Ferrarese. They spread thence over the adjacent plains between the Apennines and the Alps. The state of the soil, still

* The Emperor Claudius, we are sorry to say, was as good a scholar as he was foolish and impotent for an emperor. Besides various other works, he wrote a history of the Etruscans, in Greek.

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covered with water, either stagnant or flowing with too rapid and uncertain a current to admit of its being rendered subservient to the ordinary purposes of commercial communication, opposed an insuperable barrier to their progress on the side of the Veneti; and they seem not to have passed the Trebbia in the opposite direction. But all the remaining tracts betwixt the Po and the Alps were occupied by strong and active colonies, which copied closely the laws and the institutions of the mother country. Of the twelve great cities which stood at the head of this new alliance, we know the names of but four; Adria, which lent its name to the Adriatic sea, and which, although originally built on a gulf, near the lower branch of the Adige, is now somewhat more than fifteen miles from the coast; Mantua; Felsina, now called Bologna; and Melpo.

Like the citizens of the parent state, they early directed their attention to agriculture and those arts which are most conducive to civilization. The country, constantly exposed to inundations and cut up by marshes and lagoons, could only be won to use by the slow process of draining; nor could this have been accomplished without a considerable progress in hydraulics and in the sciences on which it depends. They cultivated also those arts for which central Etruria was so renowned; and inscriptions, bronzes, and painted vases have been found, in great abundance, in almost every part of their territories. But in the second century of Rome, the great Gallic invasion, which so long separated these regions from the rest of Italy, overthrew this flourishing colony, and put an effectual stop to the progress of civilization in the north of the peninsula. Those of the inhabitants, who escaped from the sword of the barbarians, were driven for shelter to the mountains and the strong fastnesses of Rezia. Proofs of their residence there have been discovered in monuments brought to light in our own times.

By a series of wars and of conquests, which it would be not only useless but impossible to describe in detail, the confederation of central Etruria extended its power likewise in the south of Italy. The war with the Latins terminated in a firm friendship, and in the adoption by the latter of many Etruscan rites and ceremonies. The Volsci were subdued, and the conquerors gradually advanced as far as the Garigliano. The inviting aspect of the fertile tract, which lies be-

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yond this river, allured them into Campania; and here also they formed a settlement by means of twelve colonies, and according to the prevailing custom of their country. The Silaro was its southern boundary; Vulturnum, subsequently called Capua, Nola, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Marcina, were among its principal cities. The original Oscan inhabitants became mingled with their conquerors, and continued to form a large proportion of the population. The Umbri were allies or auxiliaries of the Etruscans in this conquest; nor is it impossible that some Pelasgi may have accompanied them. But the theories which represent the Tyrrhenic confederation of Campania as a settlement of the Pelasgi, and that of northern Italy as founded by a people from still further north, are contradicted by the concurrent testimony of all antiquity, as well as by the constant analogy of monuments and of usages.

The most important possessions of the Etruscans were those which lay along the shore of the upper and of the lower seas, or, in other words, of the Adriatic and of the Tyrrhene. The tracts which bordered on the former, were within the territories which they had wrested from the Umbri. The latter were won by conquest from the Liguri Appuani, and included the districts of the Magra and of the Gulf of Spezia. The city of Luni is supposed to have been built in order to secure the navigation of this noble gulf. It is to the advantages of such a situation, and to the commercial activity which was its necessary result, that we must in a great measure attribute the advancement, which they made in nearly every branch of civilization.

The twelve cities which stood at the head of the confederation of central Etruria were probably Chiusi, Cortona, Arezzo, Perugia, Volterra, Vetulonia, Roselle, Tarquinia, Cere, Volsinio, and Vejo. Besides these, Fiesole, Saturnia, Populonia, and various other places, which derived more or less importance from their position or from the industry of their inhabitants, added strength to the league, and served as channels through which wealth flowed into the capitals.

During the first centuries of Rome, the power of the Etruscans seems to have been already on the decline. The union of the league, never so perfect as its situation required, had been so far weakened, that it was hardly possible to conduct any enterprise with concert and perseverance. Wealth

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had been followed by its inseparable attendants, luxury and corruption. The warlike spirit, though not wholly lost, was unequal to any great effort. The cities of the league wasted their strength separately, and without regard to their common interest as members of one body. But even in this state they opposed an obstinate resistance to the successive attacks of the Gauls, of the Samnites, and of the Romans, and it was not until after their strength had been consumed by five centuries of uninterrupted warfare, that they were fully and irrevocably reduced under the Roman yoke. Even then some appearance of liberty was preserved in their municipal institutions; and wealth and activity enough remained to enable them to make still further progress in those arts to which we are so much indebted for what little we know of their character and of their customs.

8. *Aurunci*, *Opici*, and *Osci* are the names borne by the primitive inhabitants of Italy. The Greeks called them also *Ausonii*. We shall employ the word *Osci* in speaking of the first inhabitants of the southern portions of the peninsula, without regard to the other appellations, which undoubtedly refer to one and the same people.

The rough fastnesses of the Apennines, together with the fertile valleys that lie between, were the original abode of the Osci. The wants of pastoral life are few, and have ever been abundantly supplied by the meadows and vales of these mountains; nor could there have been any inducement for the inhabitants to exchange dwellings so peculiarly adapted to their mode of life, for the noxious air of the lowlands, except when an increase of population compelled them to remove their seats, and a certain progress in the arts had qualified them to contend with the difficulties of such an undertaking. Thus, in spite of the bold and independent character of the mountaineers, the coast was open to whoever was willing to submit to the toil of draining its marshes, and confining to a fixed channel the course of its numerous and impetuous streams.

The Illyrians, a hardy race of pirates, were the first to avail themselves of this opportunity. Their excursions along the coast, and their encounters with the inhabitants, were among the chief causes of the revolutions to which we have already had occasion to allude in speaking of the Umbri and of the Siculi. Traces of the establishments of the

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Liburni and of other Illyrians upon the eastern coast of the upper sea, were preserved long after the total destruction of their race and name. Nearly about the same time began the incursions of the Greeks, which finally terminated in the settlement, by that nation, of Magna Grecia. These repeated invasions of a warlike and barbarous people concurred with other causes, which arose more directly from their own manner of living, in confining the Osci, for the most part, to their original seats in the interior and among the mountains. Here they lived independent and free from all subjection; although in the onset they had suffered more or less from the encroaching ambition of their neighbours.

Thus, after the Trojan war, and during the first two centuries of Rome, the population of southern Italy was divided into two distinct classes; the Greek colonies, settled on the coast, and the Osci, who occupied the upper Apennine and its numerous branches. From these last sprang the various tribes whose names figure with more or less distinction in the wars of Rome.

9. The history of the Sabines, one of the principal branches of the great Oscan trunk, carries us back to that remote period, in which the invasion of foreigners from over sea drove back the Aboriginal tribes one upon another, and gave rise to those domestic revolutions of which we have already spoken at large. Their first habitations were among the lofty mountains of upper Abruzzo, near the sources of the Velino, Tronto, and Pescara. A part of them, forcibly driven from these seats, shut themselves up in the fastnesses of the highlands between Aquila and Lionessa. The rest of the tribe, following the valley of Turano, descended to the banks of the Arno and of the Tiber. It would be vain to think of marking with certainty the extent and boundaries of their territory. But it appears, from the best accounts, to have comprised the space of about a hundred miles in the very heart of the Apennines; bounded on the northwest by Umbria, from which it was separated by the course of the Nera; on the northeast, by the chain of mountains which skirts the confines of Picinum; on the east, by the Vestini; on the south by Latium, and the banks of the Anio, up to its junction with the Tiber; and on the west, following the course of the latter, by the country of the Vegentani and Falisci. During the infancy of Rome, their dominion ex-

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tended also on the left bank of the Anio, and over some portions of Latium.

In these wild dwellings, the Sabines led the lives of hardy shepherds and industrious husbandmen. Caring little for any other ornaments than such as could be displayed in war, or for any wealth but what was derived from the cultivation of the soil and from the tending of their flocks, they preserved the purity and the simplicity of their manners, even amid the general corruption of the surrounding states. Their villages covered the country in every direction. They built in the valleys and on the heights; and ruins of their edifices have been found upon the summits of rocky and almost inaccessible mountains.

The Sabines founded several colonies by the same rite to which they owed their own origin. Such were the Piceni, who sprang from a sacred colony of Sabines, and who occupied the district between the mountains and the Adriatic, through the whole of that space which extends along the shore from the Esi to the Tronto, and thence follows the coast through the territory included between that river and the Matrino. This, even after the Roman conquest, continued to be the most populous part of central Italy.

The Petruzzi, whose dominions were geographically comprised within those of the Piceni, were, however, politically independent of them. Their situation was not distinguished by any peculiar advantages, and they are seldom mentioned in ancient history.

Both, however, took an active part in the contests which were constantly waging around them. They opposed a long and obstinate resistance to the Romans; and, although after the departure of Pyrrhus they were apparently subdued, they were still the first to take up arms in the Marsic war.

10. The geological structure of ancient Latium shows how rough and uninviting the soil must have been in that remote period when the Siculi and Aurunci, descending from the adjacent heights, first began to feed their flocks upon the Latin hills. A considerable portion of this people, after the expulsion of the main body from the peninsula, became blended with the Aborigines, and obtained in common with them the name of Latins. The additional appellation of *Casci*, which they subsequently assumed, referred only to the antiquity of their origin.

The Latin league covered at first the small space of thirty-

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five miles from Tivoli to the sea, by about twenty from the banks of the Tiber to the Alban mount. Alba was the capital of the thirty cities which composed the league, and each city had under its immediate sway a greater or less number of subject villages. The important part which religion bore in the institution of Latin society, may be argued from the tone of their mythology and of their early traditions. Janus, Saturn, Picus, Faunus, Latinus, were their first legislators and kings; and, long after a more authentic history had taken the place of these uncertain traditions, their political assemblies were held in forests, or on the borders of holy lakes and other consecrated spots.

Their early history, like that of all the nations of antiquity, was filled with the wars, either of aggression or of defence, which they waged with the neighbouring tribes. The only one worthy of mention, from the important results by which it was followed, was the Etruscan war. It was in the midst of this confederation, and on the site of Saturnia, a village of the Siculi, that Rome was built, about three hundred years, if we can trust the ancient tradition, after the foundation of Alba.

The Rutuli, a people of the same stock, but separated by domestic dissensions from the Casci, dwelt in a corner of Latium, near the mouth of the Numicius. They were a powerful and commercial people, and it was in their capital of Ardea that were to be seen those paintings, mentioned by Pliny as having been executed before the building of Rome.

11. We shall not attempt to speak in detail of the Æqui, Hernici, Volsci, Aurunci, Vestini, Marrucini, Peligni, and Marsi, of whom little is known beyond the general geographical situation of their respective territories, although they all appear to more or less advantage in the early history of Rome. One remark may be applied to all of them. Their character and habits varied according to their situation; the mountaineers being distinguished by a bold and hardy independence, while the inhabitants of the plains, and of the coast, attained to a greater degree of refinement, and even made considerable advances in commerce.

12. Samnium was that mountainous tract which lies between Campania, Puglia, and Lucania, and is crossed in an oblique line by the Apennines. The Pentri, Caudini, Hirpini, Caraceni, and Trentani composed this confederation, of which

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the chief stock, the Samnites, Hirpini, Lucani, and Trentani, derived their origin from a sacred colony of Sabines. No fixed laws united these tribes in a firm bond, or moved them to act by the impulse of a common interest. Thus, although both from their situation, and from their mode of life, they deserve to be classed among the most robust and active of the ancient Italians; although they displayed a valor which might have led to the highest success, either in conquest or in defence; and although their proverbial love of independence, and the terrific rites of their superstition, combined to give new vigor and a firmer resolution to their warlike disposition; yet they shared the common lot of their country, and after incredible exertions, where, for the most part, each tribe fought singly and for itself, were permanently and indiscriminately reduced under the Roman yoke. Few monuments of ancient Samnium remain, or rather have as yet been sought after. These are the walls of some cities; money, chiefly bearing the date of the Marsic war; and a few inscriptions.

13. Campania still preserves many of those peculiarities in the character and in the aspect of its soil, which must in ancient times, have opposed no inconsiderable obstacles to its first settlers. The Opici, of whose early occupation of this tract sufficient proof exists in the name which it originally bore, gave way to the Etruscans, and to the Chalcidians of Eubœa. It is impossible to determine which of these two tribes were the first invaders of this happy region. It is probable, that there was but a short interval between the foundation of the Etruscan confederation of Campania, and that of the Greek settlements in their immediate neighbourhood. A settled hatred and constant rivalry were the natural consequence of this proximity of territory; and this circumstance alone, which is well authenticated by the history of the times, is sufficient to show, that, although a certain degree of intercourse must have existed, it could never have approached to an amalgamation of the two races.

The Etruscans, corrupted by the enervating softness of the climate, were finally subdued by the Samnites, who, in succeeding to their power, adopted also their inveterate hatred of the Greeks. The new lords of Campania escaped not the corrupting influence of its soft and luxurious clime. In them, however, its effects were displayed in their open aban-

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donment to every species of vice, while their original ferocity and daring remained unimpaired. The bloody games of the circus were their chief amusement; and it was from them that the Romans borrowed their passion for this unnatural spectacle.

Capua, originally called Vulturnum, is a name which has become almost synonymous with the extreme of luxury. It would be difficult to distinguish in every case the cities of Grecian from those of Etruscan origin; yet it would be easy to point out several others of the latter, which vied in wealth and in splendor with some of the most renowned capitals of antiquity. The Greek cities were hardly less celebrated. Of these Cuma was long the first; but it seems, in the sequel, to have found a rival in Naples, which had succeeded to all the elegance of Parthenope, and which, by being built directly upon the coast, enjoyed the advantages of a more commodious situation.

14. A glance at the map of ancient Italy will give a better idea of the situation of the Lucani and Brutii, than we can possibly convey by a mere verbal description. The Coni and Œnotri, the first inhabitants of this territory, were tribes of the primitive Oscan race. The Lucani, a sacred colony of the Samnites, became subsequently the lords of the soil. But, in accordance with the invariable principles of Italian colonization, the original inhabitants, instead of being reduced to servitude, were allowed to mingle with the invaders, and became a part of the nation. Hence, during the whole course of this history, we find that neither the Sabines, the Volsci, nor the Samnites, were troubled by those domestic insurrections which proved so fatal to many other people of antiquity. The Lucani long confined themselves to their seats among the mountains, and it was not till after their conquest of Posidonia, that they began to form establishments upon the coast. This brought them more directly into contact with the Greeks. A constant hostility prevailed between the two nations; and so strong was this sentiment, that the Brutii, although they had been induced by the instigations of their crafty neighbours to separate themselves from the main body of the nation, still continued to nourish the same feelings of animosity towards that very people whose counsels they had followed. These regions had undergone so great a change before the time of Strabo, that this judicious geogra-

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pher, who visited them in person, was unable to discover there any traces of their ancient inhabitants.

15. The remainder of southern Italy may be divided into two distinct portions; the first of which was occupied by the Iapyges, Dauni, Peucetii, and Messapii; while the second comprised what was long known by the name of Magna Græcia. The former, as their name indicates, were separate tribes, in which it is supposed that the original occupants of the country were intermingled with colonists from abroad. The second was composed of Greek colonies, formed at different periods, but chiefly during the first two centuries of the Roman era. The neglect of the coast by the natives favored the settlements of the first navigators, whom the chances of the sea led to their shores. As their number increased by the accession of new colonists, and their power extended by the foundation of new cities, and the gradual reduction of the soil to a fertile condition, they began to encroach upon the natives, and gradually wrested from them various important acquisitions. Here the arts and literature of Greece flourished. Here originated a school of philosophy, some of whose most remarkable tenets have been confirmed by the discoveries of modern science. Here, too, the necessary effects of an active government were seen in the flourishing aspect of the whole country; and here, when industry had given way to sloth, patriotism to individual ambition, and the love of wealth, with its debasing concomitants, had taken the place of the frugal and purifying virtues, the people sunk under that yoke, against which union and virtue are the only sure protection.

16. The origin of the Ligures is lost in the obscurity of that antiquity, which veils the beginning of nearly all the subdivisions of the human race. In vain have etymologists and antiquarians exhausted their scanty materials, in varied and ingenious conjectures. Doubts surround us on every side, and each obstacle, that is removed, seems but to make way for another still harder to surmount. Nor should we be accused of speaking irreverently of the labors of the learned, if we represent this long question of hypotheses, as an endless contest between reason and the imagination; in which the one is busied in destroying the fanciful fabric, which the other, with equal industry, is piling up.

There are many points of resemblance between northern

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and southern Italy. On one hand, the Alps and the Apennines shoot out into innumerable branches, from those bleak, mountainous tracts, whose rugged wildness contrasts so beautifully with the quiet valleys that seem, as it were, to slumber in their shade. On the other, broad plains spread from chain to chain, and draw fertility from the streams that pour down upon them from every hill and mountain. In those remote periods, which lie beyond the records of authentic history, geologists have represented these fertile tracts as covered with water, and forming one vast lagoon. History seems to confirm this revelation of science, and has preserved the memory of marshes and pools which lasted even to the days of the Empire. The mountainous districts, therefore, must have been the first to be inhabited ; and it could only have been by slow and necessary steps, that their occupants descended to the plain.

Without pretending to trace the boundaries of their possessions, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to say, that they comprised a considerable portion of the plain around the Po and between the Apennines and the Alps. *Ligures* was the general name of this people ; but various additional appellations, derived from circumstances connected either with their history or with their situation, distinguished the numerous branches into which they were subdivided. But when the Etruscan colony became firmly established upon this side of the Apennines, and Marseilles had acquired sufficient strength to extend its power eastward, the territory of the Ligures was circumscribed by the encroachments of these two states, within those narrower limits which it preserved down to the age of Augustus. Of these the Po was the northern boundary ; the Alps and the Varo marked their confines toward the west ; the Arno bathed their eastern frontier, and the Mediterranean the southern. The whole of this district was divided by the Apennines into two distinct parts ; the one lying betwixt the Po and the Apennines, the other between these mountains and the sea. The valleys formed by the ramifications of this vast chain bore different names, which extended also to their respective inhabitants.

As for these, rough as the land on which they dwelt, they had no other thought than the preservation of their independence and the care of the scanty sustenance which they wrung from their ungrateful soil. A small harvest of grain

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and of wine was the treasure of only one favored district; while the chase and pasturage, and the wages which they obtained for assisting at the harvests of their more fortunate neighbours, were the sole resources of the others. No progress in the arts could be made in opposition to such obstacles; and hence we cannot expect to find in Liguria cities like those, of which so many vestiges remain in other parts of Italy. Neither do we possess any written monuments, nor any remains of their language.

The indomitable courage of this people opposed an almost insuperable obstacle to the attacks of the Romans. But while the Ligures fought divided and singly, their adversaries brought against them disciplined battalions, and the firm and vigorous action of a central power. Yet it was only by transporting the fiercest tribes to different and distant parts of the country, that they could make their conquest sure, and preserve their hard-earned possession of the soil; and the appellation of *latrones*, *insidiosi*, *fallaces*, must be taken rather as an expression of the hatred engendered by a protracted and obstinate resistance, than as having any foundation in the character of the people to whom it was applied.

17. The excursions of the Illyrian pirates and the violent tempests to which it was exposed, combined to keep the Greeks in ignorance of the extent and limits of the Adriatic sea. The same ignorance prevailed among their early writers with regard to the whole of northern Italy; and few of the Grecian tales are more absurd than those, which refer to the original state and first peopling of this country. A few facts, however, may be gleaned from this mass of contradiction and fable.

The Euganei first dwelt in that tract which lies between the Rhætian Alps and the sea. They were driven from this by the Veneti, and compelled to take up their abode where we still find them in the days of Augustus, between the Adige and the lake of Como. Numerous and futile controversies have been agitated concerning the origin of each of these tribes; nor shall we weary the patience of our readers by a summary or a repetition of them. Suffice it to say, that there is ample testimony for placing them within the limits which we have assigned, although it would be presuming too far, to attempt to fix with accuracy the precise boundaries of each part of their territories. It is supposed, however, that

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the extent of their district reached not beyond the Clusius on the west; and that its natural limits were the Alps on the north, the Timavus on the east, to the south the Veronese lagoons, and, thence onward, the Po to the sea; thus comprising in one compact body, one of the most fertile sections of Italy. Small, however, is the connexion of the Euganei with general Italian history; nor do they deserve to be classed with those noble spirits whom we have already mentioned as the ardent defenders of its freedom.

18. The Sicani were the first inhabitants of Sicily. No traces exist of their origin, and it is only known that the Siculian invasion, which seemed at the onset to threaten them with total extinction, terminated in the fusion of the two tribes; and that thus was formed that distinct race, which occupied the interior of the island, and held itself aloof from the foreign colonies which settled on the coast.

First among these were the Phœnicians, whose frequent voyages in every part of the Mediterranean must have led them, at a very early period, to fix their eyes upon a spot which offered so many advantages for the prosecution of their commerce. They took possession of the coast opposite Africa, and around the Cape of Lilibeo. They held also the adjacent islands of Malta, Gozo, and Capuro. This event may be placed about a century after the destruction of Troy.

Next came the Carthaginians, who inherited and enlarged the Phœnician colonies, and who derived immense advantages both from their possessions in the island, and from their commerce with it. But the most renowned and the most prosperous of all were the Greeks, who, about seventeen years before the Roman era, founded Syracuse; obtained possession of the coast around the three promontories, from which it took the name of *Trinacria;* and gradually extended their power over a considerable portion of the whole island. These conquests, although to the disadvantage, were made without the destruction, or even the absolute subjection, of the natives; and it is a phenomenon deserving of remark, that the Oscan language continued to be spoken to the last, and even gained ground upon the softer and more harmonious tones of the Greek.

19. The Ilienses, Corsi, and Baleares were the most renowned among the tribes of ancient Sardinia. The first are suppos-

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ed to have been its primitive inhabitants. The second were a band of Corsican refugees, who had been driven from their homes by domestic dissensions. The last were Carthaginian mercenaries, who, dissatisfied with the service in which they had engaged, forsook their standards and fled to the mountains. They all led the lives of mountain bandits, and held the foreign colonies in constant terror by their inroads and robberies.

Here, as in Sicily, the Phœnicians led the way in colonization. The Carthaginians followed in their steps, and, prosecuting their conquest with a barbarity that has no parallel, obtained a general command over the most important parts of the island. The Etruscan possessions were for the most part confined to some spots on the coast, with which they carried on a lucrative commerce.

It has been often asserted, that Corsica originally formed a part of Sardinia, as Sicily did of the mainland of Italy. But, although the appearance of the coast goes some way towards confirming this supposition, yet, in extending the examination to the soil and the productions of the two islands, it is found that there is nothing in common between the spontaneous fertility of the one and the ungrateful barrenness of the other. The Iberians and Ligures visited Corsica at a very early period of ancient history. But the Etruscans were the first who formed permanent establishments there, and turned to account the stores of resin, of wax, and of honey, the only products that exceeded the wants of the inhabitants, and afforded a medium of commercial intercourse. The Phocian invasion was averted by the arms of the Etruscans, united with the Carthaginians of Corsica. But the motives of this alliance were any thing but friendly; for, at the first appearance of decline in the maritime power of the Etruscans, the Carthaginians crossed over from Sardinia in a body, drove their former allies from their possessions, and established their dominion over the natives upon nearly the same footing upon which it stood in the other islands of the Mediterranean.

20. From this long and dry enumeration of the geographical divisions of ancient Italy, we pass to a subject of more general and permanent interest, the history of her progress in those arts which constitute civilization. And as, at the threshold of this inquiry, we are met by one of the most interesting questions which can occur in the history of civili-

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ty, we may be allowed to hazard a few remarks concerning some of those causes, which in the early periods of society concur in forming nations for extensive progress, or in confining them to a narrow sphere of social and intellectual developement.

The first decisive change from the patriarchal to the civil state has, as far as events so remote and so obscure can be ascertained, been made under the auspices of religion. A sufficient acquaintance with a few rude arts, to enable man to derive more from his physical exertions and to count more positively upon them; such a knowledge of the true nature of power, as to lead him to found it upon combined action and general principles; feeling enough to show him how much his enjoyments may be heightened by social intercourse and a fuller developement of the domestic affections; and, above all, an entire, unrepining, unhesitating obedience to that Power in whose name these gifts are made, and consequently to those privileged beings, through whose mediation they come; these are the first lessons of theocracy, and the first steps by which man is led from his rude condition of mere animal existence, to a consciousness of higher capacities and a desire for more elevated enjoyments. This progress, if we consider how vast a distance separates the uncultivated savage from man even in the first stages of cultivation, is great and rapid. The natural tendency of the mind, when it has once felt the stimulus of exertion, is to still greater and far more rapid advancement. Action, not repose, is the state of nature. The first arousing of one faculty necessarily leads to the perception of others that had never before been dreamed of; and thus man is carried on from stage to stage of developement, his powers expanding as they find new fields of exertion, and his aspirations soaring still higher as his ideas of pleasure become purer and more refined. Could he be allowed to follow out to its utmost extent this tendency of his nature, it would be impossible to say to what unknown height he might attain. But as in the organization of inanimate matter there are certain seeds of destruction, by whose uncontrollable action it is sooner or later dissolved; so these capacities of developement and these soaring aspirations bear with them, in their own extremes, the causes of that decay, which, although we shall not venture to call it inevitable, has never yet been avoided. The interests of the

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individual or of a caste, when seen from a false point of view, seem to rise up in opposition to those of society. And here a new scene begins, in which man no longer appears in that beautiful light, under which we have hitherto considered him, of the communication of knowledge and the reciprocation of its advantages; but where each individual is striving to draw around his own possessions some impassable barrier, and to hide his acquisitions from every eye, except of such as are associated with him in interest and in power. Hence comes privilege, with its long train of corruptions; and hence, in the earlier ages of society, religion and duty assume that mysterious and symbolic language, which, though understood only by the few, extends its tremendous power over all. The priesthood, who had first held out the allurements of civilization, having derived all the benefit that they desired from this partial progress, seek to check the feelings which they had awakened. They then speak of forbidden knowledge; of mysteries which all are bound to revere, but which none, except those in whose hands the awful deposite has been made, can interpret and understand. They people the streams and the groves and the whole universe with invisible agencies, which surround us on every side, watch every step, and direct every action. They tell of sudden judgments, and awful warnings, and dark manifestations of the Divine will, until every object in nature is converted into an engine of their pleasure, and every phenomenon becomes the terrific instrument of their power.

This is the decisive moment in the history of society; and happy are they who are equal to all its exigencies. A struggle now commences between the teacher and the taught; between those, who, having shown man what his powers are, would withhold his rights or terrify him from the exercise of them; and those whom the consciousness of power leads to claim for their own use all the advantages that can be derived from its exertion. But of this eventful contest we see the results alone. Its vicissitudes and details are lost in an impenetrable antiquity, or so far disfigured by the addition of fictitious circumstances as to render them too conjectural to form the proper subject of history. Yet in these dim and indistinct traditions there is still enough to show how close a connexion exists between the past and the present; between this resistance of a few half enlightened men to the preten-

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sions of a cunning and selfish caste, and the deeds and events of mature and refined civilization. Wherever the caste has triumphed, fixed laws have been set to the progress of the mind, and man has become the timid and cringing instrument of an imperious theocracy. But wherever, on the contrary, the resistance has proved successful, man, both as an individual and as a member of society, has followed with a free step that career of improvement whose stages and vicissitudes are the real theme of the historian.

It is in these causes that we must look for an explanation of the great difference between early Greek and early Italian civilization. In Greece the yoke of the priesthood was so soon shaken off, that, even at the beginning of its history, we find the civil power already in the hands of a distinct class, and sustaining an energetic, though not always a successful, contest against the sacerdotal. The passions and the energies, awakened during this contest, ceased not to act when the victory had been won; and this victory was achieved at a moment when every tendency was still upward. Thus the dawn of freedom found them in entire possession of that vigor, which freshness of feeling and the healthy exercise of every faculty inspire. It was then that the mind received that wonderful developement in every department, which made Grecian literature and Grecian art the guide and the model of all succeeding ages. Poetry became the spontaneous expression of real feeling; giving a richer coloring to the sublime precepts of philosophy, and creating, as it were, the future, by its vivid record of the glories and the virtues of the past. Philosophy carried its researches into every field, mingling with its loftiest speculations the purest lessons of civil and of political wisdom. Art, from the rude and grotesque combinations of an untaught imagination, sought its inspiration in the study of nature as she actually appears, and gradually rose, from the mere representation of common life, to those ideal conceptions which it has embodied in the Jupiter, the Venus, and the Apollo.

But in Italy the arm of the priesthood weighed long and heavily upon every part of the population. Hence the developement of mind was partial, and extended only to those points in which intellectual expansion seemed less at variance with the dogmas of blind obedience. And when, at last, the power of the hierarchy, gradually undermined, but still sup-

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ported by its inexhaustible resources of artifice and of fraud, was less perceptible, and left greater room for freedom of action, the moment of developement was past, and the mind, broken in to the yoke, was no longer capable of vigorous or of continued exertion.

This power, moreover, or in other words, this theocratic principle, had been indissolubly interwoven with all the civil and political rites of the state; nor could the one be overthrown without producing a total change in the other. It was upon this that dependence was placed for strengthening those feeble ties which a community of origin may form, but which nothing short of a well-defined community of interest can preserve. Hence the annual festivals in consecrated groves, or on the banks of some sacred stream, or upon the summit of some mountain which the presence of the deity had sanctified, in which the different tribes of the parent stock assembled together, in order to partake of the flesh of the same victim, and to unite their prayers and their offerings around the same altar. Similar observances distinguished the meetings of their great political assemblies, where the members of the alliance convened to deliberate upon their common welfare. Religious rites sanctified every civil act. The walls of their cities were traced out according to prescribed forms, and dedicated to some divinity. The divisions of the soil were drawn with similar ceremonies. And, as if this intervention of the priesthood in all the more important deeds of the people were not enough to secure their dominion, the mysterious art of divination was invented, and man was taught that no present action could be successful, unless it had first met the approbation of those whom the deity had endued with the power of penetrating into the future.

Yet it would be unjust to conclude that this supremacy, how extensive soever its action and firm its yoke, was always tyrannically exercised. The chief aim of the priesthood was to make sure the authority which they had obtained, and turn to their own advantage the intellectual and physical powers, to which they had been the first to give a true direction. They only who are new in command find satisfaction in the vain ostentation of power. It is not enough for them, that their subjects wear the chain; they must feel it too, and that at every step. But the experienced despot is more cunning and far-sighted in his use of it. He knows, that man

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is won more by appearance than by realities ; and that there is no sacrifice to which he may not be led to submit, provided it be decked with some specious name, to cheat him into the belief that his obedience is spontaneous and his actions voluntary. The control, therefore, which such a ruler exercises, is so uniform and regular, that it seems to be one of the great laws of nature, and obedience to it becomes a matter of course. It is only when opposed, that its might is felt, and its true character displayed.

But, among the people of ancient Italy, the close junction of the civil with the religious authorities left little or no room for such an opposition. Nothing draws so tightly the bands of government as this corroboration of every injunction of the secular magistrate by the precepts of the guardians of faith. The mass of mankind seldom reason with sufficient accuracy to distinguish their duties as members of a political body, from their individual responsibilities as moral beings. The mysterious tenure of our existence ; that misgiving, which assails the mind in those sad and lonely hours, when it turns inward with a sense of loathing and weariness, as if to seek in the contemplation of its own capacities, some compensation for the cares and disappointments, which it meets no less in the daily intercourse of society, than in the performance of the graver duties of life ; all those checks and doubts, by which man is so constantly reminded of his dependence on some superior being ; even the ardor of his disposition, the daring elevation of his ambition, the proud consciousness of a higher destiny, with which he traces out, in the great and unchanging works of nature, some analogy with his own capacities and his own duration ; all these feelings, thus varied and contradictory in their nature, but sure and constant in their action, peculiarly fit man in the earlier stages of his political union, to render himself the willing slave of any class, that is cunning enough to govern him by the tempered command of his hopes and of his fears, without openly thwarting the one, or pushing the other to desperation.

The peculiar circumstances, under which the ancient Italian aristocracy was formed, afforded some highly plausible grounds for their assumption of authority. It was not founded upon civil usurpation, nor upon the yet more odious pretext of the right of conquest. But the men, who pretended to this superiority over their fellows, had been distinguished,

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from the very origin of their institutions, by the undisputed possession of the rights which they claimed. Members of the sacred colonies, they had been consecrated from their birth to the service of the divinity. The halo of a mysterious sanctity had surrounded them, and hallowed all their actions. Protected, or rather inspired, by this sense of a peculiar destiny, they had gathered together the scattered tribes of the regions in which they had fixed their seats, and shown them the advantages of civil union and united exertion. They had instructed them in the first arts of life, and opened for them the treasures of a rich and virgin soil. For themselves were reserved the powers and the duties, to which no other portion of their community was equal. These they secured by all the means which they could command, oaths, mysterious rites, and the still stronger ties of an invariable custom, in which religious and civil duty were so intimately blended, that no common discernment could distinguish what belonged to each. They alone were eligible to offices of trust; to them only was the performance of religious functions allowed; and none but they could interpret the phenomena, by which the divine will was made known, and the mysteries of the future revealed. This general superiority, which raised them so far above the body of the people, seems not, however, to have degenerated into tyranny; and the relation of clientship, or of mutual and well-defined rights and duties, in which the two classes stood towards each other, supplied in part the want of a surer and more ignoble bond of union.

The application of this power was similar in most of the states of Italy. The interests of the community were intrusted to assemblies composed of the chiefs or head men of the state. In these all the important questions of common concern were treated. They declared war, or made peace. They received the ambassadors of foreign states, and replied to their communications. Whatever, in short, concerned the welfare of the confederacy was under the immediate control of these assemblies; and thus far we find them to have possessed clear and just ideas of the nature of a civil union. But one great principle, and that of vital importance to the state, was either too intricate or too subtile for the comprehension of these primitive politicians. In every federate body there are two kinds of rights; those which belong to

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the union in its collective character, and those of the several states, which form the confederation, each taken separately and by itself. Whenever these come into collision, the alliance, however powerful in sudden emergencies, can never be permanently great, and is brought by every trifle to the brink of dissolution. Nothing but consummate skill and foresight can provide for such casualties, and so mark out and define the powers and privileges of each portion of the confederacy, that these jarring interests may move on harmoniously, and derive strength from their accordant action. The absence of this was the great defect in all the states of ancient Italy, and the seeds of destruction were implanted in them from the first organization of their system.

The Etruscan confederacy was composed of twelve separate states. Each of these was governed by a magistrate of its own choice, called by them *lucumo*, and by the Romans *rex*. His election was annual; and during his term of office, he was invested with the powers and with the insignia of royalty. A robe richly wrought, and adorned with purple; a crown of gold; a sceptre surmounted with an eagle; a curule chair; the rods and axe of the lictors; were the imposing symbols of his authority. In addition to his usual and daily duties, every ninth day was set apart for public application to the affairs of the state. Among the twelve *lucumones*, which was the number of the whole body, one was chosen to preside over their common deliberations. Each state furnished him with a lictor in testimony of the entire equality of all. During war, the supreme command devolved upon him by right of office, and this was the true field for the display of his power. But the watchful jealousy of the aristocracy seldom allowed him to enlarge or to prolong it.

But, although the chief command was thus vested in the aristocracy, the people were not wholly deprived of a share in the government. The division into tribes, *curiæ*, and centuries, which Roman history has made so familiar to every reader, was practised by the Etruscans. Besides the assemblies of the patricians, there were also popular assemblies. The manner in which the people exercised their right of voting in these, is not known. But their participation in the government, as a separate and influential body, is placed beyond a doubt by the authority of monuments and the express testimony of several facts, as related by ancient historians. It is impossible at this distance of time, and with such a

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scarcity of records, to say how long these bodies continued to act in unison, and each remained content with its own privileges. But, early in the Roman era, we find that the people had so far extended their encroachments upon the patricians, that it was only by the intervention of foreign arms, that the obnoxious order succeeded in maintaining a diminished and precarious authority. Other inferior officers, who are supposed to have been more particularly charged with the guardianship of the rights and liberties of the people, are named in the monuments of Etruria. Among them we find the familiar names of *ediles*, *quæstors*, and *prefects*.

The laws of the Etruscans, so far as can be judged from the few specimens that have been preserved, seem to have been simple and just. Whatever regarded the rights of parents, of marriage, of inheritance, of guardianship, of creditors, was clearly defined. In those which relate to property, we again find the theocratic element of Tuscan society in full action. The whole earth, according to this system, was the immediate property of the Divinity, but Etruria had been especially singled out as his favorite possession. The direct command of this was of course transmissible to those who could merit and win his favor; and the Etruscans were taught to look upon themselves in this flattering light. But, in order to set bounds to human cupidity, he had commanded that the limits of each tract should be distinctly marked out; and this rite, once accomplished with all the solemnity of pompous ceremonial, fixed for ever the extent and confines of every portion of the soil. Hence the worship of the god *Terminus*, who in such a state must have been one of the most useful and important of all the gods. Yet, when the bounds of each district had thus been assigned, every freeman became the absolute master of his own possessions. The best record of the state of this part of Etruscan law is contained in the fragments of the "Twelve Tables"; a code purely Italian, and to which nothing short of the grossest credulity could ever have attributed a Grecian origin.*

Slavery was in use among them, as among nearly all the nations of antiquity. They employed their slaves in tillage,

* The law against insolvent debtors is amusing, and highly characteristic of the state of commerce. *Ὅταν δέ τις ὀφείλων χρέος μὴ ἀποδιδῷ, παρακολουθῶσιν οἱ παῖδες, ἔχοντες κενὸν θυλάκιον εἰς ὀυσωπίαν.* — Heracl. Pont. *de Polit.* p. 213.
Among the Lucani, whoever lent money to a vicious man forfeited both principal and interest.

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in domestic services, and sometimes even in war. Their labor, as well as their punishment, was regulated by music; and, although in the eye of the law they were things, not men, yet their lot seems to have been comparatively easy.

21. The earliest intelligible records of nations are contained in their mythology. It is here, that we find the first traces of their advancement, and the dim and shadowy outlines of those great characters, who first dared to claim for themselves the obedience and the veneration of mankind. This epoch is too often stained with bloody rites; and man's first impulse seems to lead him to invest the deity with his own dark and relentless passions. Time, and a community of interests and of exertions, gradually modify these ideas, and prepare the way for the developement of the kindlier feelings of our nature.

Italian mythology seems, in the beginning, to have been purely rural. The unvarying round of the seasons, seed-time and harvest, with all the various events and epochs of agricultural life, were naturally distinguished by a particular display of gratitude towards that being, of whose power they served so peculiarly to awaken the remembrance. The golden age of Saturn, the teachings of Janus, the innumerable traditions of the immediate presence of the deity upon earth, are but so many records of the early progress of agriculture, and, through this, of the advancement of the nation towards a more perfect civilization. The first deities were inhabitants of woods and founts; and it is a fact of no small importance to one who would study candidly the real character of the Italians, that their own religion consisted in pure and simple allegories, addressed to the understanding and to the feelings of the people, and thus calculated to exercise a permanent and healthy influence upon their lives and their character. The mysterious and complicated symbols, with which these same deities were subsequently invested, were the inventions of men skilled in the lore of the East, and more particularly in that of Egypt, the cradle of superstition. An entire change then took place in the theory of the divine nature. Janus, who had been worshipped by the primitive Italians, as their lawgiver and the institutor of their civil society, became the most high God, the sole and just father, the God of gods, the first to be invoked; a being, in short, who had

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been rendered almost unintelligible by the multitude and the comprehensiveness of his attributes. The same natural process from the simple to the complex, from particular facts to general ideas, transformed Saturn from the planter of the vine and teacher of agriculture, bearing, by a plain and intelligible allegory, a sickle in his right hand, into the all-sufficient Deity, the universal vivifying principle, the high God, from whom time had its beginning. It was but one step more to give a foreign origin to all these native deities, and represent them as springing from the land whence their new attributes had been derived. This too was accomplished; and, although enough of their original character has been preserved to enable us to fix the true origin of their mythology, not one of the original deities of Italy has escaped this transformation.

But it is more particularly in the religious system of the Etruscans, that we find evident marks of Oriental influence. The doctrine of duality, and that which relates to the state of the soul after death, are plainly sculptured upon all their monuments.

The predominant idea of Etruscan theology and cosmogony was comprised in the dogma of a Supreme Being, who was endued with infinite power, and was reproduced in all created things. Thus, wherever the Tuscan went, he was in the presence of his God. The earth and the air, all that live and all that supply life, reminded him of this supreme and beneficent being. The first emanation of this *Demiurgus* was Jove or Time. The noblest and most imposing attributes were united in his person. He alone exercised supreme control, and hurled his thunderbolts at will upon the earth. Twelve assistant deities composed the celestial senate, and had a voice in the councils of Jove. Nor could he, all powerful as he was, avoid calling in their aid in all affairs of moment. Each of these deities had two distinct characters; the one, general, formed according to the mystical conception of his nature; the other special, and derived from the functions attributed to him in the general system of polytheism.

We again find a confirmation of what we have already observed concerning the political bearing of Italian theology. The Etruscan league was composed of twelve great cities. The Etruscan mythology taught, that the celestial senate

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was formed of twelve powerful deities. What mortal could dare to claim obedience to his single word, when even the supreme arbiter of Olympus could not decide upon the weightier concerns of his government without the aid and advice of his counsellors? Nor was the lesson confined to these principles of remoter application. It was brought home to every breast by addressing itself more directly to all the immediate cares and interests of civil life. Thus while the temples of Jove, of Juno, and of Minerva, were erected within the city and held to be essential to its safety, those of Mars, the instigator of broils, of Vulcan, the principle of fire, and of Venus, whose worship so easily degenerated into lasciviousness, were placed without the walls, as if to teach, by a direct and striking symbol, that whatever endangered the safety of a community, ought studiously to be guarded against and kept at a distance.

In addition to these primary deities, there was an infinite variety of inferior ones, who were distinguished by special functions, and charged with the guardianship of particular spots. Fortune was the protector of the Volsinienses; Ancaria of Fiesole. Voltumna had still more to do, and was supposed to keep watch over the whole Etruscan league. The purest moral atmosphere surrounded all these deities; and it is a remark, which has not escaped the ancients themselves, that the gods of the Italians had nothing in common with the sensual and passionate divinities of Greece.

Another remarkable point in Etruscan theology, and which may be considered as forming the basis of their belief, was the doctrine of two adverse principles. These were emanations from the supreme divinity; his ministers in the preservation of order, and in the immediate government of the universe. But, throughout the whole of this immense field, they were constantly and directly opposed, one to the other. The desire to account for that mystery of human life, which mere reason can never explain, and which in some shape or other has proved the stumblingblock of every system, — the origin of evil, — affords a plausible explanation of the origin of this singular theory.

According to Etruscan belief, every individual, upon entering on his mortal career, was intrusted to the guidance of two spirits of an opposite nature, the one good, the other

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evil. These were his guides in life; and, when the probationary duties of this existence had been performed, they followed him to his eternal dwelling-place after death. This constant struggle is pictured upon the monuments of the Etruscans, and especially upon those which were destined for sepulchral rites, in combats between fantastic and hideous beings, and often in strange and unaccountable mixtures of the human form with that of animals. The hold which this belief had taken upon the minds of the people was so strong, that traces of it are found as late as the second and third centuries of our era. So essential is belief to the human mind. So much is it a part of our nature to require some theory, however extravagant and fanciful, which may explain at least a part of the mystery of our being, and throw, if nothing more, a few faint rays, upon the dark question of our destiny. Philosophy may reason from one degree of doubt to another, and glory in the uncertainty which her own efforts have procured. But man, weak and dependent man, oppressed with a sense of his feebleness and of his deficiencies, needs some fixed principle, some settled belief; and, rather than forego this, he will give sensible and tangible forms to the subtile operations of his intellect, and invest the Deity with the contradictory passions of his own frail nature.

The monuments from which this imperfect account of Etruscan mythology is derived, afford at the same time a singular proof of the pure Italian origin of these deities. Apollo, as is well known, was one of the chief personages of the Grecian mythology; hardly inferior to any for the variety and the importance of his functions. We are justified, therefore, in concluding, that, if the Italians had derived their system from the Greeks, so important a member of the celestial hierarchy would have become a prominent object of adoration among them. But so far was this from being the case, that he is nowhere mentioned in the early monuments of the country; and, when found on those of a comparatively recent date, is written, in opposition to the invariable custom of the Italians in recording the names of their gods, with a name of evident Greek derivation.

But, amid all the revolutions of Italian mythology, it is supposed that the change hardly extended to the current belief of the people. With them, the faith of their ancestors remained unimpaired; and the son confided, without hesita-

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tion or doubt, in the truth of those doctrines which he had received from his father. Still, however, it was impossible for them to escape the influence of the solemn rites, which seemed to surround their ancient and simple tenets with a sublimer and more mysterious sanctity. And this, in fact, was all that the priesthood asked for; for it was the preservation of their own power that they aimed at, not the instruction of the people. Thus, availing themselves of the natural phenomena which abound in the volcanic soil of Italy, they invented that celebrated system of oracular revelation, which, to borrow the energetic language of Machiavelli, bound the vulgar by the fond belief, that the same deity who could foretell the destiny of man, could also mould and change it at will. It was thus that they pretended to predict the issue of any event, by the throwing of dice into the smoking and medicinal waters of Aponus. Hence also the famous Prænestian lots. Here again, we find a striking difference between the usages of the Greeks and those of the Italians; the former admitting of two kinds of oracular communication, while the Italians, no matter how the original prediction had been made, received the annunciation through the medium of special interpreters.

Whatever the early character of this institution may have been, and however much it may have been called for by the necessities of the times, it could not but degenerate into a vile and sordid superstition. At the annual festival of their deity, which was celebrated on mount Soracte, the Hirpi kept up the superstitious wonder of the vulgar by walking with naked feet over live coals.

> "Summe Deûm, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
> Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
> Pascitur; et medium, freti pietate, per ignem
> Cultores, multâ premimus vestigia prunâ." *

The science of Augury, one of the strongest weapons of the priesthood, was peculiar to the Italians. Tages † was

* Æn. xi. 785.

† The first appearance of Tages is thus described by Cicero. "Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi, cum terra araretur, et sulcus altius esset impressus, extitisse repente, et eum affatus esse, qui arabat. Is autem Tages, ut in libris est Etruscorum, puerili specie dicitur visus, sed senili fuisse prudentiâ. Ejus adspectu cum obstupuisset bubulus, clamoremque majorem cum admiratione edidisset, concursum esse factum, totamque brevi tempore in eum locum Etruriam convenisse: tum illum plura locutum,

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honored as its founder. The oral lessons of this divinity were collected by his followers, and committed to writing. It was thus, that were formed the celebrated Etruscan rituals, which contained the doctrine of fate, of the nature and destiny of the soul, and, in short, the most mysterious tenets of theology. These were translated into Latin, and illustrated by ample comments. So extensive did this science eventually become, that it was made to embrace the whole field of religion, of ethics, and of natural philosophy.

Of equal importance to the priesthood were the religious festivals, which they instituted with happy foresight, and observed with studious solemnity. Simple and unpretending in their origin, they were little more than a voluntary union of the inhabitants of different districts, each within its own precincts, in order to give greater solemnity to the expression of their gratitude and the offices of their devotion. Artfully availing themselves of all the advantages, that could be derived from the progress of the arts and the increase of wealth, the priesthood gradually introduced important changes into these assemblies. A more pompous ceremonial was required; offerings became richer and more numerous; the shrines of the gods were decked with greater care; and their images, choicely wrought in marble or in bronze, or in materials still more costly and precious, struck a deeper terror into the minds of their worshippers, and carried to the highest pitch their sense of awe and veneration.

Our knowledge of the various intermediate ranks of the priesthood is imperfect and unsatisfactory. The youngest assistants at the altar were called *camilli*, and this was probably an initiatory step, preparing the way to higher functions. The high priest (*pontifex*) was chosen by the votes of the twelve states; and his office seems to have been the privilege of particular families. The body of the priesthood, considered as a distinct and independent caste, was bound to the state by a double relation.

(1.) By their power and duties, as directors and ministers of public worship.

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multis audientibus, qui omnia ejus verba exceperint, litterisque mandaverint: omnem autem orationem fuisse eam quâ haruspicinæ disciplina contineretur: eam postea crevisse rebus novis cognoscendis et ad eadem illa principia referendis. Hæc accepimus ab ipsis: hæc scripta conservant: hunc fontem habent disciplinæ. Num," adds the not over-credulous philosopher, "num ergo opus est ad hæc refellenda Carneade? num Epicuro?" — *De Div.* Lib. II. 23.

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(2.) By the civil and judicial constitution of the country, as guardians and interpreters of the laws.

But, however numerous the privileges of this powerful class, there was one important particular in which they were placed upon a level with the rest of the population. They were both soldiers and civil officers. Their station at the altar did not exempt them from the most hazardous and onerous duties of citizenship.

Deeply rooted as this power was, it proved unable to withstand the slow but sure influence of advancing civilization. As early as the fifth century of Rome, the authority of the priesthood had ceased to be felt. New deities and new rites had been introduced; and it must be acknowledged that morals gained nothing by the change. A closer commerce with the Greeks had given a popular currency to their sensual mythology. The pure worship of Bacchus degenerated into the infamous Bacchanalian rites; and, except among the Sabines, the Samnites, the Umbri, and the Lucani, who rigidly adhered to the worship of their fathers, we find scarce any vestiges of the primitive religion of Italy.

But, before we quit the subject of the priesthood, there is one point upon which we would wish to speak somewhat more at large, even at the risk of a little repetition. The first object of every corporation is power; and if the union be based upon human credulity, every species of dominion is its natural accompaniment. We have already spoken, with perhaps more than proportionate fulness, of the aims of the Italian priesthood, and of the measures which they employed in order to accomplish them. They may be comprised in two simple propositions.

(1.) That they preserved a rigid monopoly of all the knowledge of the age.

(2.) That they applied this science to the government of society with a view to the extension of their own influence.

Of all the distinctions which nature or art has placed between the different classes of society, none is stronger or more universally felt than that of education. Intellectual power is a shrine before which man bends more readily and more constantly, with greater sincerity and less of humiliation, than before any other. And when, to an evident superiority in the cultivation of faculties which are common to the whole race, is added the apparent command over things that exceed

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the utmost stretch of human comprehension; when the phenomena which strike terror into the breast of one individual, seem to utter an intelligible language to another, revealing objects that lie beyond the reach of mortal vision, and pointing out the course and result of enterprises yet undecided, what can man do but cast himself, an humble suppliant, at the feet of those mysterious beings, who seem to partake of only as much of his nature as is necessary in order to make him feel the immensity of the distance that separates them from him?

It was not merely a vain and arrogant assumption, therefore, which led the Italian priesthood to teach that all knowledge was the immediate gift of the Deity. The fabric which they reared upon this foundation proved the firmest bulwark of their power. It comprised the whole range of science, and thus subjected even the ordinary arts of life to the ordeal of their judgment. These revelations of the Deity were too profound and too refined for common understandings. None but his favored servants, they who were admitted to the mystical service of his temple, could comprehend them. Nor was this knowledge the easy acquisition of hereditary right. A long course of severe discipline and of attentive study prepared them for it. They, who were to read and interpret the phenomena of nature, had first to reduce these phenomena to a fixed science by a series of exact and extensive observations. The records of these became the text-books of succeeding ages, and were successively enlarged, improved, and corrected. The predictions founded upon the phenomena of thunder and lightning must alone have required an immense series of curious and subtile observations. Their knowledge of medicine also, however imperfect, required a thorough acquaintance with the use and nature of herbs, and of the mineral waters with which their country abounds. Their frequent sacrifices, and the necessity of inspecting the bodies of the consecrated victims, opened the way for the acquisition of that skill in anatomy, which is apparent in all the works of Etruscan art. The more occult doctrines, contained in the celebrated mysteries, so often mentioned in classical literature, were reserved for the most distinguished among the priesthood; nor could they all pretend to penetrate the darker secrets of their own art. There is a striking resemblance between their tradition of the creation and that

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contained in the Mosaic record. Demiurgus employed six thousand years in the creation of the world. In the first thousand he created the heavens and the earth ; in the second, the firmament ; in the third, the sea and all the waters ; in the fourth, the great lights, the sun, moon, and stars ; in the fifth, the animals of the land, sea, and air ; in the sixth, he made man. But, not content with this luminous history of the past, Etruscan philosophy marked out the bounds of the future, with the same unerring precision. A second term of six thousand years comprised the period allotted for the duration of the human race. The whole universe then returned to its pristine chaos, and, at stated intervals, this regular process of creation and destruction was to be renewed.

22. A few words may be made to embrace all that can be said with any certainty concerning the science of the Etruscans. It has been clearly shown,* that no nation in the infancy of society have the least claim to that knowledge of astronomy which has been attributed to them. There is a vast difference between a casual attention to some of the more regular appearances in the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the founding of a satisfactory and available science upon them. Antiquaries are too apt to suppose, that, wherever they find any thing like a course of observations, there must necessarily have been a body of science.

The lunar year was generally known among the ancient Italians at a very early period. But the Etruscans added to this a knowledge of the solar year ; and there is very little reason to doubt, that the division of time which the Roman historians attributed to Numa, was borrowed by him from the Etruscans. A sense of high and mysterious import was attributed to numbers ; nor was it probably for any other reason, that we find the number twelve so often recurring in the divisions of their political and mythological orders. The figures now commonly known as Roman, were, strictly speaking, Etruscan.

Songs of various kinds were, as far as we know, the chief poetry of the Etruscans ; nor for the existence of these have we any other authority, than a casual mention of them by some ancient writers. The subjects of these compositions were probably those, which all nations in a similar state of

* Delambre, *Hist. de l'Astronomie ancienne,* Tom. I. p. 13.

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society prefer; but the praises of the dead were a favorite theme, and the songs of this class were sung at the table, and in the hour of convivial freedom. The name of Volumnus has been preserved as a writer of tragedy; and the celebrated Atellian plays, acted first in Oscan, and subsequently in Latin, were admired in Rome, even under the Emperors.

The pompous ceremonies of religion, which, as has been already observed, owed so much to the progress of the arts, contributed also to the developement of those arts from which they derived their chief embellishment. Music formed an important part of religious service, and was more particularly employed in processions and in dances. The attention which they paid to music led them to invent several kinds of instruments, and the fame of their *subulones* was so high, that they were universally employed by the Romans in their sacred chants.

But there is no loss affecting the early history of Italy, which is more to be regretted than that of their native historians. In the age of Augustus, many of them were still extant. As a testimony in favor of Etruscan literature, it should be observed, that it originally constituted the first study of the Roman youth, as the Greek did in the sequel; a custom, which, among a people who were so little addicted to commerce, and who so uniformly imposed their own language upon the nations they subdued, could never have obtained without some strong attraction in the extent and in the character of the literature itself.

23. Our knowledge of the private manners and customs of the ancient Italians is too general, and contains too few of those definite peculiarities, which alone make the difference between nations, and between different states of society, an interesting inquiry, to call for any particular description. Those exquisite lines of the Latin lyric poet, in which he draws so striking a contrast between his contemporaries and their ancestry, contain perhaps the best picture of the primitive simplicity of Italian manners.

"Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes, sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru." *

* Hor. *Carm.* Lib. iii. 6.

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24. We have reached the most difficult part of our subject; and, did we suppose that any thing more than a simple historical outline of Italian art would be looked for in a paper like the present, we should throw by our pen in despair. All men have a certain degree of feeling for art in its more advanced stages; and, although the subtler conceptions of the artist may escape common observation, yet there is an eloquence in the human form, which is understood, and felt still more than it is understood, by every one. The Medora, as pictured to the intellectual eye in the poetry of language, is even less eloquent than the same scene as brought out in all its thrilling reality by the minuter poetry of sculpture. But to discover, in the first rude efforts of an art as yet ignorant of its true object and of its real destiny, the traces of a power yet undeveloped, and of a feeling indicated rather than expressed; to distinguish, amid the rough productions of nations still struggling with barbarism, those which promise progress and developement from those for which there is no progress and no futurity, is a task, which, in spite of all the pretensions and the fancied raptures of the connoisseur, can be accomplished by those alone, who, to a natural sensibility for the beauties of art, have added a long practical acquaintance with its mechanical processes.

We have already had frequent occasion to observe the reciprocal action of the laws and the religion of the ancient Italians. It is long before mankind arrives at that period, in which, the more imperious wants of life being supplied, the mind is at liberty to seek relaxation and enjoyment in the invention of artificial pleasures. But the imitation of the objects that surround us is one of the earliest of our intellectual wants. This by slow, fluctuating, and almost imperceptible degrees of improvement leads to creation, and the representation of those visions of beauty, which float before the eye of imagination, long before art is sufficiently advanced to reproduce them upon canvass, or draw them forth from marble.

The original aim of the arts of design among the primitive Italians was the representation of national customs. It was another instrument in the hands of the all-powerful priesthood, which they wielded at will, and in strict accordance with their far-reaching ambition. The artist thought less of elegance of form and propriety of arrangement, than of the

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moral or religious effect of his productions. He was not at liberty to choose from among the rites of his country, those which were best adapted to the purposes of his art; but was compelled to employ that art itself in the confirmation of those customs, which had more to fear from the silent and inevitable changes of time, than from the open attacks of innovation. Thus the same causes, which opposed the progress of Italian civilization, and prevented it from ever attaining to a full developement, retarded also the progress of the arts, and even seemed for a time to have transformed them from a means of culture into an instrument of superstitious despotism.

We would not wish to be misunderstood. We would not have it supposed, that we seek to deprive the artist of that inspiration, which is to be derived from a great moral or political aim. So far are we from this, that we firmly believe that there is no other source of great ideas. The ideal beauty, of which the artist endeavours to catch the fleeting image, is but the visible expression of some noble moral conception. It is Charity, performing her double office, of instructress and of nurse. It is triumphant Patriotism, holding in one hand the sword by which his victory was won, and pointing with the other to that Providence, in whose name he had wielded it. Form, grouping, drapery, grace of outline, and truth of anatomy, are but the clothing of these ideas. They are to the artist what language is to the poet, the medium through which he communicates his own feelings to others. But the soul of these great productions, that apparent life, which almost makes the marble yield, flesh-like, to your touch, and the flat surface of the canvass swell out with the waving lines and graceful proportions of the human form, can be drawn only from the same source with the purest inspirations of poetry.

One branch of the arts was less exposed to the influence of the abovementioned causes, than the others. Architecture is under a certain degree of restraint in every state of society. The nature of his materials, and the necessity of clipping down his conceptions to the views and the wants of his employer, have accustomed the architect to act with apparent freedom, under circumstances which would wholly repress the ardor of the sculptor or of the painter.

It is principally, or almost exclusively, among the Etrus-

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cans, that we must look for monuments of art; and, in fact, it is upon these monuments that we depend for nearly all that we know of the manners and customs of the nation. A single glance at any fragment of Etruscan architecture is sufficient to show, that all its distinctive characteristics arose from the state of society among the people for whom it was formed. The first aim of the architect was security. Hence the enormous size of the materials that he employed, and, in a great measure also, the manner in which he put them together.

Their cities were built upon the summits of precipitous and almost inaccessible hills. The disadvantages of such a situation for all the purposes of commerce, or even of agriculture, were to a certain degree counterbalanced by its security. Walls of great height, and sometimes also of great extent, surrounded the whole city. Built upon the craggy sides of the mountain, or, as at Veii, upon some artificial elevation, they seemed to defy attack, and to be placed by their position alone beyond the reach of danger. The manner of their construction, and the materials of which they were composed, added, if possible, to this security. A deep foundation secured them against the changes which time and the vicissitudes of the seasons produce in the surface of the earth. Upon this arose a pile of massive blocks of stone, so cut as to fit together without cement, and of such dimensions as to have procured for this style of building the name of Cyclopean. Military and civil architecture were combined in these structures. The foundation already spoken of was in part a protection against mines; but the situation of the wall itself, upon the border of the precipice, was a still more effectual guard. Those portions of the wall, which were most exposed to the machines of the enemy, were built of the largest stones. The whole circuit was strengthened by towers, erected at regular distances, and within reach of the missiles of the defenders of the main works. Each gate was secured by a portcullis; and, as a last retreat in the hour of danger, a separate fortress, which was dignified with the name of citadel, covered the most elevated and strongest part of the city. Parts of these walls still remain, unscathed by the lapse of centuries, and preserving, amid ruins that carry us back two thousand years, the record of ages still more obscure, and of an antiquity yet more remote. Thus, although

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no work of purely Etruscan architecture has come down to us entire, and although we are wholly dependent upon some passages of Vitruvius for what little we know of the form and the structure of their temples, yet the grave character and exceeding solidity of the ruins of Volterra, of Fiesole, of Cortona, and of other cities of ancient Etruria, which it would be useless to enumerate, are sufficient to show how much progress had been made in this first and most important of the arts. The name of the simplest of all the orders of architecture is a sufficient proof of its origin. The Etruscans also were the first to use porticoes; and this, taken together with several other details which have been handed down concerning their domestic architecture, affords sufficient ground for supposing, that in their private edifices they lost not sight of those principles which gave such grace and solidity to their public monuments.

The art of the statuary was practised by the Italians from the earliest period of their national existence; in part from the abundance of the materials which are used in moulding; and in part from the early action of those causes which, in every age of their history, have favored the cultivation of the arts of design. Ancient history records marvels concerning the number of the statues, which were transported to Rome upon the conquest of various cities of Italy; and we are expressly told by Pliny, that the most ancient statues of Rome were the work of Etruscans.

Clay was first used in the formation of these statues; and it was in the management of this that the Vejentians attained to such celebrity. But the abundance of bronze, and its admirable adaptation to all the purposes of the statuary, finally obtained for it the preference over every other sort of material.

The skill of the Etruscan artist in the representation of animals is sufficiently manifest from the numerous specimens, which still remain of their productions in this branch of the art. Nor is it a fact unworthy of remark, that their attentive study of the science of divination was not wholly without its reward, since it led them to observe, and consequently to imitate with remarkable exactness, the anatomical structure of the animals used in sacrifice. It is more particularly in the works of this class, that we perceive how much imagination, like all our faculties, is dependent upon cultivation.

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The skill and feeling of the artist were wasted upon strange and fantastic combinations, which have no foundation in nature, and which, consequently, require not that close and unwearied study of real life, without which no correct idea can be formed of the object and the power of art. The blame, however, of a false taste in this respect is shared by a nation, which has furnished the surest models of pure taste in every department; for if the Etruscans made these figures, the Greeks bought them, and it is well known, that, in the time of Pericles, the bronze works of Etruria were held in the highest estimation in Athens itself.

The works of ancient Italian sculpture, which are still in existence, may be assigned to three different epochs of the art, each of which is distinguished by characteristics that cannot be mistaken.

Many of these monuments belong to the very infancy of the arts. You see that the artist has, as yet, no clear conception of the real character of imitation, and no distinct perception of the beauties of the human form. He is struggling with the expression of indefinite and exaggerated ideas. You here find statues with stiff, rectilinear outlines. The feet are closely united. The eyes are flattened. The mouth is oblique. The chin projects nearly as far as the nose. The limbs are protracted to an excessive length, and the drapery is drawn close and fitted tight and stiff to the body. They not only have no appearance of motion, but seem incapable of it. They are, in short, a coarse representation of the lineaments of the body, without any idea of strength, or of agility, or of any of the higher qualities of art. In looking at these grotesque caricatures, it is with difficulty that you can persuade yourself that the artist can have seriously undertaken to imitate the human form as we now see it. It would seem, that any eye must have been sufficiently formed to distinguish the gross errors of such copies. But, happily for the progress of art, our ideas of beauty keep pace with the efforts that we make to represent it. Could man feel at once the full force of the beautiful, he would be overwhelmed by his own impotence, and lost in barren amazement. But drawn onward, step by step, by the gradual discovery of new graces, though every effort bring him nearer to the point at which he first aimed, that very effort serves to reveal some new and some higher quality; and it is only as he approaches the truth, that

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he feels the full force of natural beauty, and begins to rise to the contemplation of ideal perfection.

The Egyptian origin of Italian culture is strikingly apparent in the monuments of this age. The fighting animals, the monsters of various forms, which are so often repeated in the productions of both nations, all of them symbols of the same religious system, belong, either by date or by imitation, to this epoch. But, although in these works of the Etruscans there is a certain degree of natural expression, and a certain pleasing simplicity, yet they fall far short of the real feeling, which, in spite of all their roughness, distinguishes the Egyptian compositions of the correspondent age.

The most important period of Etruscan art was that which gave rise to a new and purely national style, if this name can be with propriety admitted, where traces of Egyptian influence are still visible. This school was particularly distinguished by its rigid adherence to method. Strength is here represented by over-action. The figures start and strain with the theatrical movement, which gives so peculiar and unnatural a character to the French school. The muscles are developed beyond the fulness of nature, and marked with great distinctness and precision. Art has evidently made progress, but rather in the correctness of anatomical representation, than in the conception of ideal beauty. The severest decency is observed throughout all the works of this class. The subjects are for the most part allusive to sacred and domestic rites ; and the cast of countenance which prevails in all of them is so peculiar, and so evidently copied from life, that it might almost be called provincial.

As early as the first century of Rome, the Etruscans began, by means of their colonies in Campania, to hold some intercourse with the Greeks. Commerce enlarged it. But the small profit, which they could derive from the Greek art of that age, is sufficiently apparent from the specimens of it which have come down to our own times. As Grecian art advanced, its influence upon that of the Etruscans became more decided ; and when the works of Zeuxis and of Phidias had raised the former to that pitch which has never yet been passed in any age or in any country, the latter also acquired a new and more elevated character. This was its longest, as well as its brightest period. It is to this, that antiquaries assign the "Orator" of the Florentine gallery,

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and the "Child" of the Vatican. Many delicate gems, the "Tyrrhena sigilla" perhaps of Horace, of which numerous specimens still remain, concur in giving us the highest opinion of the taste and skill of the Etruscans during this happy epoch.

The finest specimens of the art of this period are in bronze; but the most numerous are in the stone of the country. The alabaster of Volterra, then as now, was held in especial estimation. We have not been equally fortunate in our remains of Etruscan painting; and the situation alone of these works is sufficient to show, that they could only have been the productions of the journeymen of the art.

But the most important branch of our subject, for its bearing upon the history of Etruscan manners, as well as upon that of art, is the examination of the painted earthen vases, which are drawn forth in incredible abundance from the ancient sepulchres, that have been opened in almost every section of the country.

(1.) The first in the order of time are certain vases of black earth, which, though not baked, were dried in such a manner as to render them fit for use, and make them susceptible of a kind of lead-like polish. The most remarkable of them have upon the body, the handles, or the foot, drawings in low relief, allusive to the symbolical rites of religion, and chiefly of burial. And, as the custom of depositing beside the urn of the deceased the objects, which he had valued most in life, was almost universal in the infancy of society, it is not surprising that the deities, to whose watchful care the sacred repose of the sepulchre was intrusted, should have been depicted under the most hideous and terrifying forms. These vases were set apart for sepulchral rites. They are found in Clusium, the Volscian territory, Tarquinii, and Cære. They belong, by style and form, to the earliest epoch of Etruscan art; a fact, which is strikingly confirmed by several peculiarities in the allegories with which they are adorned.

Of equal antiquity are the baked earthen vases of a reddish color. These are covered with figures of animals, traced in fanciful and often in terrific shapes. They bear no marks of a purely Grecian mythology; and the common, though improper usage, calls them Egyptian. They are found in tombs, not in Etruria only, but in Campania; nor is there any reason to doubt, that they were used, like the first-mentioned vases

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of unbaked earth, for funeral rites. The Oriental origin of the symbols which they bear is apparent from their evident analogy with the doctrines of the East.

(2.) The transition from these fantastical images to the symbols of a more poetical and a more ideal mythology was not only natural, but, among a people qualified for progressive civilization, necessary. Hence the adoption of the Greek fables, which are easily recognised upon the vases of a more recent date. Bacchus, however, not merely the Grecian, but the Etruscan Bacchus, or, in other words, not only as god of the vine, but as the father of agriculture and of the arts, and at the same time the awful deity of the world of spirits, continues to be the chief personage in these symbols. These vases also were, for the most part, used in the numerous ceremonies of burial. But this usage was not exclusive; and many of them are readily distinguished as having served for domestic purposes, or as rewards for the victors in the games and exercises of the gymnasium.

The number of them, which has been recently discovered upon the territories of the ancient Volsci, has occasioned a renewal of the question concerning their origin; one school asserting that they are all Greek; the other maintaining, with equal zeal and learning, that they are all Etruscan.

The first circumstance which strikes the impartial observer is, that they evidently belong to different schools and epochs. No one who considers the state of the commercial and colonial relations, which began so early and subsisted so long, between the Greeks and the Italians, can hesitate to acknowledge, that many of these vases are the work of Grecian artists. But, at the same time, the Etruscan names and inscriptions, which are engraved upon so large a proportion of them, show that many were of Etruscan manufacture. The abundance, also, in which they are found, goes far in confirmation of this opinion. No subject, however, can be harder to decide by mere force of argument. Long practice in observation and comparison, supplies the surest standard of judgment.

The most ancient of these are certain vases of a dry, stiff style, in which the figures are placed upright, one after the other, with a symmetrical uniformity, although they are not wholly devoid of vivacity and life. The angular cut of the dress, and the richness of its embroidery, are well worthy of remark. None of the works of this school can have belonged

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to the best epoch of Grecian art. They are evidently of a much earlier date; and, from the strong tincture of Orientalism which they retain, it would seem probable that this style, originated among the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, was carried from thence to the mother country, and was subsequently introduced into Italy. It was particularly in Corinth and in Sicyon, that this art attained to its perfection. As early as the first century of Rome, the intercourse between Etruria and Corinth was frequent; and the vases of the latter formed for a long time an important staple of commerce. Now the eldest and most revered deities of Corinth and Sicyon, viz. Apollo, Diana, Hercules, and Minerva, are precisely those which we meet with most frequently upon the earthen wares of Volsci. They are found also in Sicily and in many parts of Magna Græcia. The flourishing state of Etruria during the first two centuries of Rome, and the excess to which the inhabitants carried the pomp and luxury of their funeral rites, will easily account for the activity which prevailed in this branch of commerce.

This art was practised not only in Etruria, but throughout the whole of Italy. Even in the earthen vessels which were solely employed for ordinary domestic purposes, we find a striking attention to variety and grace of form.

The vessels of which we are now speaking were in common use from the first to the third century of Rome. During the fourth, the art underwent an important change, and was much improved. The cultivation of it was still continued through the fifth and sixth centuries of the same era; but, upon the suppression of the Bacchanalian rites, it fell into disuse, and probably soon after ceased entirely. When, therefore, in the age of Augustus, a large number of them was discovered in the tombs of Capua, they must have excited almost as much surprise and dispute as they now do. Towards the end of the republic they were again brought into use in funeral ceremonies. Then followed a period of rough and awkward imitation, the productions of which are easily distinguished from those of every other age.

25. In the infancy of society, agriculture is one of the first and most important steps in the path of civilization. While men roam free and unfettered from spot to spot, with no passions but those of animal life, and no other care than the daily provision of a precarious subsistence, there is no

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foundation even for the first coarse rudiments of civility. But no sooner do they become attached to one place by the ties of cultivation, than a total change ensues in all their feelings. Life becomes a new scene. The domestic affections begin to expand. Individual attachments are formed. Love extends from animate to inanimate objects; and the spot that has witnessed the budding of affection, becomes, by the most natural and forcible of associations, a sharer in all its pleasures and all its endearments. By degrees the circle enlarges, and begins to embrace a wider range of duties. The obligations of a parent, of a husband, of a child, prepare the way for a fuller sense of the duties of man towards man; and the tie that binds him to his home is the first and the strongest link in that holy chain of affections which attaches him to his country.

The state of the agriculture of a country, therefore, affords one of the surest data for judging of its civilization, as well as of the character and the aims of those by whom that civilization was founded. No part of a population adheres so rigidly to ancient maxims and primitive customs, as that which is devoted to the cultivation of the soil. And hence we constantly find, among the men of this class, a variety of usages, which, if attentively considered, would throw much light upon the remoter periods of their history. This inquiry, therefore, is of primary importance in every attempt to arrive at a satisfactory judgment concerning a people, whose history is founded upon scattered traditions and obscure and difficult monuments.

Agriculture, among the ancient Italians, was under the immediate safeguard of religion. The possessions of the husbandman were protected by the solemnity of holy rites, and his toil cheered and lightened by the grateful recurrence of pious festivals and public games. As each season called for the renewal of its appropriate labors, it brought with it also its peculiar relaxations. Nor were the labors and the pleasures of the field of mere human institution. The gods themselves had partaken of them, had hallowed them by their presence, and directed them by their instructions.

The whole political system of the country was supported by that of its agrarian laws. By the first of these, the civil dominion of the soil was secured to the Patricians. From them the extensive class of clients received certain tracts for

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cultivation, from the tillage of which they derived their own subsistence, and contributed by the payment of a fixed tribute to that of the lawful owners. Slaves were sometimes employed in these services, but their number cannot have been great.

The position and the climate of Italy fitted it for the cultivation of a variety of fruits and of grains. Many trees of Asia have become nearly indigenous in this congenial soil. Many animals, also, of Asiatic origin have thrived in Italy, and multiplied with amazing rapidity. Etruria, the Volscian territory, Picenum, Campania, and Apulia were renowned for their abundant harvests of grain. The vine was carefully cultivated, and the most luxurious of the ancients asked for no choicer wines than those of his own country. Bees, also, were tended with great care, and their rich stores of honey and of wax were highly prized.

Grazing early came to be a leading object of attention. The wools of several districts were in great repute for their softness and their brilliant white. Then, as now, the shepherd tended his flock, during the heats of summer, high upon the sides of the mountains, where an abundant pasturage and clear springs of the purest water supplied all their wants. But, upon the approach of winter, and before the first snowfall, he led them down to the sheltered valleys and fertile maremmas, and, erecting his hut in the midst of his grazing-ground, awaited the return of the milder season. Autumn and spring still present the same spectacle of migrating flocks to the traveller in modern Italy. Day after day, in these seasons, the highways, from the mountains to the low lands, are filled with long trains of sheep, proceeding by slow stages to their summer or their winter quarters. The veterans of the flock move on with a measured gate and demure aspect, while their younger and more active companions climb every hedge and leap every ditch, to pluck the grass and green shoots that border the way. Behind comes the shepherd, in his coat of skins ; his legs bound as high as the knee with strong, coarse leggings ; with breeches of thick woollen, and sometimes of skin with the fleece outward ; a hat with a broad brim and cone-like crown ; and in hand his crook or wand of office. But the most interesting object in this annual caravan is the shepherd's dog. The form and size alone of this animal are sufficient to excite attention. The

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nose is long, and, unlike the rest of the head, free from hair. The ears are pricked; the legs large and strongly set; and the whole body covered with a thick coat of shaggy hair, which is no less a protection against the inclemencies of the season, to all the vicissitudes of which he is constantly exposed, than a guard in his frequent contests with his natural enemy, the wolf. This animal relieves the shepherd from more than half his responsibility. He never loses sight of the flock. On a march he is incessantly in motion; now at the head, now on the sides, now behind; and woe to the luckless straggler that dares to wander from his path. When noon brings the hour of repose, he takes his stand at some point where he can be ready for his charge, and at the same time snatch a moment's rest. At night he watches on the outskirts of the fold. The incautious traveller finds him at his throat before he can call for assistance. The wolf dreads him, and never, unless when goaded by the extremity of hunger, ventures to approach his watch. Nor even then can he succeed, if he come singly to the attack. The faithful animal will sometimes hold even two at bay, and give his master time to come to his assistance; and, if this be delayed, it is only after a long and fierce struggle, and over the mangled body of their guardian, that the ravenous prowler of the forest can seize his trembling and defenceless victims.

Many of the peculiar customs of pastoral life were deeply rooted in the feelings of the people. The Palian and Lupercalian games, by which the shepherd sought to propitiate the deity towards himself and his flock, preserve the memory of an age anterior to the foundation of Rome. By a strange engrafting of Pagan rites upon the simple usages of Christianity, traces of these ancient institutions have been preserved down to our own times; and the fires, which were once lighted for a heathen goddess, now blaze in honor of the Virgin.

The part of the herdsman was nearly as important as that of the shepherd. The oxen of Italy were highly esteemed by the ancients for their strength and their size; and it is well known that many have supposed this circumstance to afford a sufficient explanation of the origin of the actual name of the country. The race of horses, also, was in high repute; and the woods of Lucania, of Etruria, and of upper Italy, were filled with innumerable herds of wild hogs. Even the forests

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were placed under the immediate protection of the divinity; and, no one being allowed to touch them except for some public purpose of acknowledged utility, they formed a rich source of national commerce.

But no feature in the agricultural history of ancient Italy gives so high an idea of its progress in civilization, as the reduction of vast tracts of marsh to a state of high cultivation. Many portions of the country, which now exhale noxious and pestilential vapors, were then thickly peopled. Others, now partially redeemed from inundation, and verdant with an unavailable fertility, were among the most populous and productive of the ancient states.

The Middle Ages witnessed a partial and transient return of this prosperity. The Tuscan marshes were drained; towns and cities arose amid the banks and canals which led off the noxious waters; and the whole coast, from the borders of the Genoese to the confines of the Roman states, was covered with a hardy and thriving population, who drew from the soil they had won, enough to meet all their own wants, and contribute to the support of an extensive and gainful commerce.*

26. But the success of agriculture alone would be insufficient to account for the wealth and power, to which the nations of Italy had already attained in the first centuries of Rome. Commerce went hand in hand with the tillage of the soil, conveying its superabundant products to distant lands, and bringing in a rich return of foreign commodities.

The situation of their country must have called the attention of the Italians to navigation at a very early period. But the first navigators were pirates; and this is the not very enviable appellation, that we find frequently coupled by the ancients with the name of the Tyrrheni. Such, however, must necessarily have been the case, when men, ignorant of the legitimate object of nautical science, ventured to launch their barks upon an untried element, and to trust their persons and their property to the mercy of the winds and the waves. The very qualities, which fitted them for such an effort, prepared them to consider themselves as fairly entitled to what-

* A very interesting exposition of this fact, though from a point of more extensive view than we can take, may be found in an early work of Sismondi, *Tableau de l'Agriculture Toscane*, pp. 284 *et seq.*

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ever they could make their own ; * and the hazards, to which they unhesitatingly exposed their own lives, must have taught them a lesson of stern indifference to the security of others. The chances, too, were equal. Strength and skill were the arbiters of the contest. The prize of victory and the consequences of defeat were known and weighed before the sword was drawn.

But, although the commencement of nautical commerce was thus rough and unpromising, yet it was not long ere it began to feel the benign influence of advancing civilization. And no sooner was it perceived, that far more was to be gained by an equitable exchange of the products of one country for those of another, than by these predatory excursions, which, although sometimes successful, were always attended with double exposure, than it became an object of general attention, and was prosecuted with such ardor and address as rapidly carried it to a very high pitch of prosperity.

Here again the Etruscans took the lead. The beak or pointed prow, so terrible in the shock of naval combat, was invented by them. The double-fluked anchor, also, was an Etruscan invention. Even had the voice of history been silent, the names borne by the two seas which bathe the Italian peninsula would form an imperishable monument of the nautical enterprise of the Etruscans. Their colonies in Corsica and Sardinia have already been mentioned. Their first treaties with the Carthaginians were of a very early date ; and, up to the third century of Rome, they not only competed with them for the command of the Mediterranean, but even attempted to follow their track in the more difficult and adventurous navigation of the Atlantic.

The materials by which this commerce was supplied were, in a great measure, derived from their own soil. Grain was exported from the fertile districts that border on the sea. Their forests furnished the best of timber. The iron of the vast mines of Elba was wrought at Populonia, and formed an important staple of traffic. The

* Such may have been the meaning of Horace ;

"Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus," &c.

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mines of Volterra and of the territory of Siena gave copious supplies of copper, which was used in the construction of arms and of various utensils and instruments of labor, and was also coined as money. The native stores of wax, of honey, and of pitch, were enlarged by the annual tribute from Corsica, and exchanged in the course of commerce for various foreign productions. But the most active branch of commerce was the exportation, into different countries, of bronze images and domestic utensils of Etruscan make, which were eagerly bought up at high prices, to the great advantage of their manufacturers. Among the principal objects of importation, were the ivory of Nigritia, and the amber of the north, which were furnished, either directly or indirectly, by foreign merchants. The seaports were provided with extensive arsenals, public warehouses, and convenient docks.

Other states, also, shared in this lucrative commerce. The Rutuli, Volsci, Ligures, and Campani traded along the western coasts and among the islands of the Mediterranean. The Volsci and the Ligures ventured in their light barks as far as Africa, Gaul, and Spain. Timber, gums, wax, honey, and skins, were the exports of the Ligures; in return for which they received grain, oil, wine, and other necessaries of life, which their own soil did not produce. Their only manufactures were of coarse woollen. Other districts carried on a fruitful traffic in finer wools, and the Brutii drew ample returns from their exportations of pitch and tar. Thus, in ancient times, as among the republics of the Middle Ages, woollens, iron, pitch, and timber, were the great sources of Italian wealth.

A lucrative and active commerce was also everywhere carried on, from the coast to the interior, and thence back again to the sea. Commodious roads, of parts of which the solid paving still exists, facilitated and gave security to this intercourse. Small fees, on entering and clearing a port, and on the passage of a river or bridge, were the only taxes to which the merchant was subjected; and moderation in these was held to be the surest test of a good government.

Such a commerce as that, of which we have traced the outline, necessarily supposes the existence of an established currency. The first medium of general exchange was cumbersome and awkward, but still well enough adapted to the limited wants of its inventors. As the enlarging circle of

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commerce afforded room for the introduction of more valuable wares, the coin of the country underwent a correspondent change. Copper was the first metal whose value was fixed by coinage, and the same practice was soon extended to silver and gold.

27. There is no art to which uncivilized man takes so readily as that of war; and yet none is more dependent upon civilization for its progress and its perfection. Savages rush to arms from the instinct of revenge; exhaust their strength in irregular efforts; and only lay by their weapons, when their passions have been satisfied, or their blind impulse spent. Civilized nations begin by formal denunciations of hostility; regulate their movements by the rules of art; and retire when their object has been obtained, or when the chances of failure overbalance the hopes of success. The savage trusts to his ambush; to the darkness of midnight; to the terror which he strikes by a sudden and violent attack. The civilized warrior, although he rejects not the advantages of an unexpected onset, confides in the skilful execution of well-directed manœuvres, and in the overwhelming impulse of closely-united and concurrent squadrons. The former seeks to destroy; the latter, to secure some immediate advantage, or to avert some distant and contingent evil. Hence, while war with the one is the unmitigated scourge of human kind, with the other it assumes a character connecting it with the arts of an improved society.

The military science of the ancient Italians was in the midway between these two extremes. The necessities of their situation made them soldiers; while the exposures of a hard and laborious life fitted them for the toils of service. But their progress in the more difficult and important principles of the art was limited by their imperfect knowledge of the science on which they depend. It would be unjust, then, to look for great discoveries, or to pretend that leading theories were understood, where their scientific basis was, as yet, incomplete. Still they enlarged the bounds of the art by several important discoveries, and it was to them that the Romans were indebted for many parts of their discipline.

Their arms, both offensive and defensive, varied according to the service for which the particular class of troops that bore them was destined, and were often very different among different tribes. The heavy-armed infantry, upon whose

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firm lines the chief reliance for victory was placed, were clad in a strong and weighty armour, which protected nearly the whole person. The light-armed troops, as their name shows, wore a lighter armour, which, although unfit for the shock of a close attack, was well adapted to the distant contest which they waged with their slings, their bows, and their javelins. But, whatever the class to which he belonged, or the armour that he bore, the Italian soldier prided himself upon his equipment, and took pains to deck it with his richest and costliest ornaments.

The mode of levying troops and organizing the army, was established by law. A solemn oath bound the soldier to his standard; and the religious veneration, with which this oath was observed, is singularly illustrated by several facts of ancient history. The legion was subdivided into cohorts, and contained a proportionate number of heavy and of light armed foot, together with the necessary train of musicians and of artisans, as well as a distinct body for the protection of the baggage. Military service, like taxation, was regulated by the census. The soldiers of the first rank, and the cavalry, which was always composed of the first class of citizens, were bound to equip themselves at their own expense. In cases of extreme danger, and when the ordinary number of regulars was not adequate to the urgency of the moment, others were added by individual choice. A corps was formed, composed solely of the most distinguished soldiers. Each member of this body then chose an assistant, for whom he became personally responsible. This assistant named a second upon similar conditions; and this was continued until the required number had been obtained. Besides these bands of citizen-soldiers, there were mercenary leaders, who let themselves out to the highest bidder.

Campaigns were usually short and sudden excursions. The general led his troops directly up to the enemy, and either measured his strength in a pitched battle, or laid waste his territory. Camps were chosen with great care, and strongly fortified; each band raising its own works, and destroying them again before it marched. The same method of encampment was followed by the Romans, until the war with Pyrrhus gave them the model of a more scientific form.

In preparing for battle, the troops were usually drawn up in three bodies; a centre and two wings. The cavalry was stationed according to the nature of the ground, and most

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frequently as a covering to the wings. The usual mode of advancing was in parallel lines; a form less adapted to complex manœuvres than the oblique, but admirably suited to those conflicts in which victory is decided by the struggle of man with man. Ambuscades, and all the devices to which a skilful general resorts in a mountainous or wooded country, were in frequent use.

While advancing towards the foe, they sought to terrify him by their warlike songs and the martial sound of their trumpets. The attack began by a discharge of missiles from the slings and bows of the light-armed troops; a shower of javelins followed, carrying terror and confusion into the ranks of the enemy; the heavy-armed infantry then advanced to the onset, with their short, heavy swords, which inflicted deep and fatal wounds; and the cavalry, hovering on the wings and watching the moment to charge, decided by its impetuosity the fate of the day. A crown of gold, and, if we can trust Florus, even the triumphant march, in which the victor was borne in a car richly gilded and drawn by four horses, were the rewards of distinguished bravery.

Roman history alone throws light enough upon the military character of the other people of Italy. The bloody annals of this warlike city nowhere record such desperate conflicts, such interminable struggles, such vigor in defence, and such perseverance in resistance, as in the long story of their Italian wars. Five centuries scarcely sufficed for the subjection of the peninsula; but, its hardy inhabitants once subdued, and from enemies converted into allies and assistants, the whole ancient world was soon bowed to the yoke.

28. Every reader who has attempted to follow, with any degree of accuracy, the earlier periods of ancient or of modern history, must have been struck with the exceeding difficulties which attend every system of reasoning, that is founded upon etymology and the original structure of language. So flexible is this great instrument of human thought, that there is scarce any theory, be it ever so wild and extravagant, which, with a little ingenuity and a proper share of credulity, it may not be made to support. And yet so close is the connexion between the character of a nation and that of its language, that it is impossible to enter to any extent upon the examination of the one, without giving at least an inquiring glance at the other.

Hitherto the study of the ancient languages of Italy has

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been attended with small success. The inscriptions in Etruscan are hardly any better known, than when the monuments that bear them were first discovered. Years were spent in the study of the alphabet, and treasures of erudition consumed in searching for analogies in all the tongues, whose written words bore the slightest resemblance to it. After various ingenious and contradictory theories, each of which enjoyed its hour of reputation, the great enigma was solved, and all the letters of the Etruscan alphabet were reduced to a uniform and intelligible system. This step, however, notwithstanding its importance, has left us nearly as much in the dark as before. We can follow those letters through their different combinations, supply many of their conventional omissions, and give them sounds like those of other tongues; but these sounds are still unintelligible, and the words, which they form, fall strange and indistinct upon the ear. It is only to the East that we can reasonably look for the solution of this problem.

We know nothing of the grammatical foundation of the Etruscan language; but long and patient observation has noted several interesting circumstances in the orthography, and in the inflexion of words. Among these are the custom, which prevails in sepulchral monuments, of writing from right to left; the superabundance of consonants; the uniform omission of the quiescent and short vowels. Several radical syllables, moreover, have been observed, of which the signification would seem to be fixed; several derivatives have been followed up to these, with a sufficient degree of evidence; and certain fixed laws have been discovered in the inflexion and termination of various words. These inscriptions have also been of considerable use to the genealogist, and enabled him to trace back a long series of family names.

The languages of ancient Italy may be divided into two classes; if it be not yet more proper to consider the Etruscan and the Oscan, which are the heads of this division, as the two principal languages, and all the others as dialects of these. The use of the Etruscan was not confined to the territory from which it derived its name; but was extended by conquest and by colonization, through various other districts of the peninsula. From the Sabine territory southward, the predominant language was the Oscan. To these should be added a variety of dialects, formed from one or the other of the parent tongues, and preserving, in spite of their changes, more or

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less evident traces of their origin. The primitive Illyrian, a language totally different from the Sclavonic, and of which many themes have been preserved in the dialect of the Skypetars of Albania, might throw much light upon this curious subject.

In proportion as the dominion of the Romans became enlarged and confirmed, their own language obtained the ascendant. It was long, however, before the original languages of the country fell into disuse; and they seem to have held their place among the people, long after they had been abandoned by the higher classes. The Oscan was spoken at Herculaneum and at Pompeii, up to the day of their destruction; the Etruscan was in use under the earlier emperors; and, at the same period, the popular Oscan comedies were performed upon the Roman stage.

The fragments, which have been handed down to us of the primitive Latin, are strongly marked with Etruscan and with Oscan. In the fragments of Ennius, we find not only Oscan words, but even whole forms of speech. The practice of shortening words by a rough abbreviation or contraction, was common to both. Sabine words also are cited by the ancient grammarians.

Will not these facts, when taken together with the history of the origin of Rome, lead to at least a plausible conjecture concerning that of the Roman language? It is well known, that the first inhabitants of Rome were an aggregation of native Italians, drawn together by various motives, and from different parts of the country. Each brought with him his native tongue, and the customs and usages of his original dwelling-place. The Etruscan and the Oscan, with their long train of dialects, were mingled together and spoken within the same walls, and by a people who, however different in their origin, were now united by the ties of a common interest. Hence there must have gradually arisen one common dialect, partaking largely of each, but in some respects differing from all. The same phenomenon was repeated during the Middle Ages, when the modern languages of Europe were formed from a similar conjunction of different elements. The earliest specimen of Latin differs so much from its subsequent form, as to be utterly unintelligible. Such as it was, it was adequate to the wants of the age. As these increased, the necessary enlargements and improvements were made; and when, at last, it came to be employed in

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poetry, in history, and as the vehicle of a more polished eloquence, the fathers of Roman literature drew freely from the same abundant source, which supplied their literary models.

ART. II. — *The Life of Father Marquette.* By JARED SPARKS. (Library of American Biography. Vol. X.)

WE need say nothing here of the services which Mr. Sparks has rendered to American history. His Lives of Ledyard and Morris and Washington; his editions of the writings of Washington and Franklin, and of the Diplomatic Correspondence; and his collection of American Biographies, which has now reached the tenth volume, are all known through this country and in Europe. He has done more than any other one man to preserve for posterity the undoubted records of our early history; and we trust a long life may be granted him, wherein to pursue his labors; for, with the advance already gained in a knowledge of the details of past times, his labors are becoming every year more and more valuable.

Among his various publications, the series of American Biographies ranks high in interest and utility; through it, many have been made known to the world, who might otherwise have found no historian; and we hope he may be able to continue it through many more volumes. Among those persons, who but for this work might have remained without their deserved celebrity, is Father Marquette, whose brief story is now before us. His Journal, giving an account of the discovery of the great Mississippi Valley, was published in France in 1681, and a poor translation of it was given in the Appendix to Hennepin's volumes, printed in London in 1698; but all knowledge of his doings slept in these dusty works, and in a few pages of Charlevoix's "New France," until Mr. Sparks drew up an abstract of the original Journal, for the second edition of Butler's "History of Kentucky." This abstract he has now somewhat altered and enlarged, and put into a wider circulation, through his "Biography." It is curious and interesting; and as Marquette's discovery is but little known, and the labors of those that followed him but

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slightly appreciated, we have thought it worth while to give our readers a sketch of the progress of the French in the knowledge and settlement of the Mississippi valley.

The advantages of water communication were never more perfectly shown, than in the rapid progress of the French in Canada, when first settled. During the years in which John Eliot was preaching to the savages of Natick and Concord, the Jesuits were lifting their voices upon the furthest shores of Lake Superior; while a journey from Boston to the Connecticut was still a journey through the heart of the wilderness, Allouez and Dablon had borne the cross through that very "Mellioki" (Milwaukie) region, to which our speculators have just reached.* With strong hearts those old monks went through their labors; sleeping, in mid winter, under the bark of trees for blankets, and seasoning their only food, "Indian corn, grinded small," with "little frogs, gathered in the meadows."† They were very different men from "the apostle" of the Puritans; but, to all appearance, were as pure, and as true, and as loving; the Miamis were "so greedy to hear Father Allouez, when he taught them," says Marquette, "that they gave him little rest, even in the night."

Among those who were foremost in courage and kindness, was Marquette himself; a modest, quiet man, who went forward into unknown countries, not as a discoverer, but as God's messenger; who thought all his sufferings and labor fruitful, because among "the Illinois of Perouacca," he was able to baptize one dying child; and who took such a hold of the hearts of those wild men, through the inspiration of love, that for years after his death, when the storms of Lake Michigan swept over the Indian's frail canoe, he called upon the name of Marquette, and the wind ceased and the waves were still.‡

In the year 1671, this Jesuit missionary led a party of Hurons to the point of land which projects from the north, at the strait between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and there

* In the library of Harvard College is a map, published in Paris by N. Sanson d'Abbeville, in the year 1656, in which are given portions of Lakes Superior and Michigan; the southern part of the map is the north of Florida, as discovered by Fernando de Soto, and as it is drawn in the map accompanying the History of his adventures by Garcilaso de la Vega.

† Hennepin, *Nouvelle Decouverte.*

‡ Charlevoix's *Letters*, 2d, p. 97. London Ed. 1761. — *Nouvelle France*, Vol. VI. p. 21. Paris Ed. 1744.

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founded the old settlement of Michillimackinac.* Here, and along the neighbouring shores, he labored with noiseless diligence until 1673, when the Intendant-general of the colony, M. Talon, a man of great activity and enterprise, and who was upon the point of closing his career in Canada, determined that the close should be worthy of his character, and called upon Marquette to be the leader of a small party, which was to seek for that great river in the West, of which the Indians had so often spoken.† The representative of the government in this undertaking was M. Joliet, a substantial citizen of Quebec, and with them went five other Frenchmen. ‡

Upon the 13th of May, 1673, this little band of seven left Michillimackinac in two bark canoes, with a small store of Indian corn and jerked meat, wherewith to keep soul and body in company, bound they knew not whither.

The first nation they visited, one with which our reverend Father had been long acquainted, being told of their venturous plan, begged them to desist. There were Indians, they said, on that great river, who would cut off their heads without the least cause; warriors who would seize them; monsters who would swallow them, canoes and all; even a demon, who shut the way, and buried in the waters, that boiled about him, all who dared draw nigh; and, if these dangers were passed, there were heats there that would infallibly kill them. "I thanked them for their good advice," says Marquette, "but I told them that I could not follow it; since the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I should be overjoyed to give my life."

Passing through Green Bay, from the mud of which, says our voyager, rise "mischievous vapors, which cause the most grand and perpetual thunders that I have ever heard," they entered Fox River, and toiling over stones which cut their feet, as they dragged their canoes through its strong rapids, reached a village where lived in union the Miamis, Mascoutens, and "Kikabeux" (Kickapoos). Here Al-

* Charlevoix's *History of Canada*, (*Nouvelle France*,) Vol. II. p. 239.

† *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 248.

‡ Marquette's *Journal*, Vol. I. p. 8. In this place he says, I told them that he (Joliet) "estoit envoyé de la part de Monsieur, notre Gouverneur, pour découvrir des nouveaux pays, et moy de la part de Dieu, pour les éclairer des lumières du Saint Evangile."

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louez had preached, and behold! in the midst of the town, a cross, (*une belle croix*,) on which hung skins, and belts, and bows, and arrows, which "these good people had offered to the great Manitou, to thank him because he had taken pity on them during the winter, and had given them an abundant chase."

Beyond this point no Frenchman had gone; here was the bound of discovery; and much did the savages wonder at the hardihood of these seven men, who, alone, in two bark canoes, were thus fearlessly passing into unknown dangers.

On the 10th of June, they left this wondering and well-wishing crowd, and, with two guides to lead them through the lakes and marshes of that region, started for the river, which, as they heard, rose but about three leagues distant, and fell into the Mississippi. Without ill-luck these guides conducted them to the portage, and helped them carry their canoes across it; then, returning, left them "alone amid that unknown country, in the hand of God."

With prayers to the mother of Jesus they strengthened their souls, and then committed themselves, in all hope, to the current of the westward-flowing river, the "Mescousin" (Wisconsin); a sand-barred stream, hard to navigate, but full of islands covered with vines, and bordered by meadows, and groves, and pleasant slopes. Down this they floated with open eyes, until, upon the 17th of June, they entered the Mississippi, "with a joy," says Marquette, "that I cannot express."

Quietly floating down the great river, they remarked the deer, the buffaloes, the swans, — "wingless, for they lose their feathers in that country," — the great fish, one of which had nearly knocked their canoe into atoms, and other creatures of air, earth, and water, but no men. At last, however, upon the 21st of June, they discovered upon the bank of the river the foot-prints of some fellow mortals, and a little path leading into a pleasant meadow. Leaving the canoes in charge of their followers, Joliet and Father Marquette boldly advanced upon this path toward, as they supposed, an Indian village. Nor were they mistaken; for they soon came to a little town, toward which, recommending themselves to God's care, they went so nigh as to hear the savages talking. Having made their presence known by a loud cry, they were graciously received by an embassy of four old

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men, who presented them the pipe of peace, and told them, that this was a village of the "Illinois." The voyagers were then conducted into the town, where all received them as friends, and treated them to a great smoking. After much complimenting and present-making, a grand feast was given to the Europeans, consisting of four courses. The first was of hominy, the second of fish, the third of a dog, which the Frenchmen declined, and the whole concluded with roast buffalo. After the feast they were marched through the town with great ceremony and much speech-making; and, having spent the night, pleasantly and quietly, amid the Indians, they returned to their canoes with an escort of six hundred people. The Illinois, Marquette, like all the early travellers, describes as remarkably handsome, well-mannered, and kindly, even somewhat effeminate. The reverend Father tells us, that they used guns, and were much feared by the people of the South and West, where they made many prisoners, whom they sold as slaves.

Leaving the Illinois, the adventurers passed the rocks upon which were painted those monsters of whose existence they had heard on Lake Michigan, and soon found themselves at the mouth of the Pekitanoni, or Missouri of our day; the character of which is well described; muddy, rushing, and noisy. "Through this," says Marquette, "I hope to reach the Gulf of California, and thence the East Indies." This hope was based upon certain rumors among the natives, which represented the Pekitanoni as passing by a meadow, five or six days' journey from its mouth, on the opposite side of which meadow was a stream running westward, which led, beyond doubt, to the South Sea. "If God give me health," says our Jesuit, "I do not despair of one day making the discovery." Leaving the Missouri, they passed the demon, that had been portrayed to them, which was indeed a dangerous rock in the river, and came to the Ouabouskigou, or Ohio, a stream which makes but a small figure in Father Marquette's map, being but a trifling water-course compared to the Illinois. From the Ohio, our voyagers passed with safety, except from the mosquitoes, into the neighbourhood of the "Akamscas," or Arkansas. Here they were attacked by a crowd of warriors, and had nearly lost their lives; but Marquette resolutely presented the peace-pipe, until some of the old men

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of the attacking party were softened, and saved them from harm. "God touched their hearts," says the pious narrator.

The next day the Frenchmen went on to "Akamsca," where they were received most kindly, and feasted on corn and dog till they could eat no more. These Indians cooked in and eat from earthen ware, and were amiable and unceremonious, each man helping himself from the dish and passing it to his neighbour.

From this point Joliet and our writer determined to return to the North, as dangers increased toward the sea, and no doubt could exist as to the point where the Mississippi emptied, to ascertain which point was the great object of their expedition. Accordingly, on the 17th of July, our voyagers left Akamsca; retraced their path, with much labor, to the Illinois, through which they soon reached the Lake; and "nowhere," says Marquette, "did we see such grounds, meadows, woods, buffaloes, stags, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beavers," as on the Illinois river.

In September the party, without loss or injury, reached Green Bay, and reported their discovery; one of the most important of that age, but of which we have now no record left except the narrative of Marquette, Joliet (as we learn from an abstract of his account, given in Hennepin's second volume, London, 1698,) having lost all his papers while returning to Quebec, by the upsetting of his canoe. Marquette's unpretending account, we have in a collection of voyages by Thevenot, printed in Paris in 1681.* Its general correctness is unquestionable; and, as no European had claimed to have made any such discovery at the time this volume was published, but the persons therein named, we may consider the account as genuine.

Afterwards Marquette returned to the Illinois, by their request, and ministered to them until 1675. On the 18th of May, in that year, as he was passing with his boatmen up Lake Michigan, he proposed to land at the mouth of a little stream running from the peninsula, and perform mass. Leaving his men with the canoe, he went a little way apart to pray, they waiting for him. As much time passed, and he did not return, they called to mind, that he had said something of his death being at hand, and anxiously went to seek

* This work is now very rare.

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him. They found him dead; where he had been praying, he had died. The canoe-men dug a grave near the mouth of the stream, and buried him in the sand. Here his body was liable to be exposed by a rise of water; and would have been so, had not the river retired, and left the missionary's grave in peace. Charlevoix, who visited the spot some fifty years afterward, found that the waters had forced a passage at the most difficult point; had cut through a bluff, rather than cross the lowland where that grave was. The river is called Marquette.*

While the simple-hearted and true Marquette was pursuing his labors of love in the West, two men, differing widely from him, and each other, were preparing to follow in his footsteps, and perfect the discoveries so well begun by him and his shadowy compeer, the Sieur Joliet. These were Robert de la Salle and Louis Hennepin.

La Salle was a native of Normandy, and was brought up, as we learn from Charlevoix,* among the Jesuits; but, having lost, by some unknown cause, his patrimony, and being of a stirring and energetic disposition, he left his home, to seek fortune among the cold and dark regions of Canada. This was about the year 1670. Here he mused long upon the pet project of those ages, a short-cut to China and the East; and, — gaining his daily bread, we know not how, — was busily planning an expedition up the great lakes, and so across the continent to the Pacific, when Marquette returned from the Mississippi. At once the hot mind of La Salle received from his and his companion's narrations, the idea that, by following the Great River northward, or by turning up some of the streams which joined it from the westward, his aim might be certainly and easily gained. Instantly he went towards his object. He applied to Frontenac, then governor-general of Canada, laid before him an outline of his

* Charlevoix's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 96. *New France*, Vol. VI. p. 20. — Marquette spells the name of the great western river, "Mississipy"; Hennepin made it "Meschasipi"; others have written "Meschasabe," &c. &c. — There is great confusion in all the Indian oral names; we have "Kikabeaux," "Kikapous," "Quicapous;" "Outtoauets," "Outnovas;" "Miamis," "Oumamis;" and so of nearly all the nations. Our "Sioux," Charlevoix tells us, is the last syllable of "Nadouessioux," which is written, by Hennepin, "Nadoussion" and "Nadouessious," in his "*Louisiana*," and "Nadouessans" in his "*Nouvelle Découverte*."

† Charlevoix's *New France*, Paris Edition of 1744, Vol. II. p. 263.

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views, dim but gigantic, and, as a first step, proposed to rebuild of stone, and with improved fortifications, Fort Frontenac upon Lake Ontario, a post to which he knew the governor felt all the affection due to a namesake. Frontenac entered warmly into his views. He saw, that, in La Salle's suggestion, which was to connect Canada with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of forts upon the vast navigable lakes and rivers which bind that country so wonderfully together, lay the germ of a plan, which might give unmeasured power to France, and unequalled glory to himself, under whose administration he fondly hoped all would be realized. He advised La Salle, therefore, to go to the king of France, to make known his project, and ask for the royal patronage and protection; and, to forward his suit, gave him letters to Seignelay, who had succeeded his father, the great Colbert, as minister of marine.

With a breast full of hope and bright dreams, the penniless adventurer sought his monarch; his plan was approved by the minister, to whom he presented Frontenac's letter; La Salle was made a Chevalier; was invested with the seignory of Fort Catarocouy or Frontenac, upon condition he would rebuild it; and received from all the first noblemen and princes assurances of their good-will and aid. His mission having sped so well, on the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle, with his lieutenant, Tonti, an Italian, and thirty men, sailed from Rochelle for Quebec, where they arrived upon the 15th of September; and, after a few days' stay, proceeded to Fort Frontenac.*

Here was quietly working, in no quiet spirit, the rival and co-laborer of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, of the Recollet variety; a man full of ambition to be a great discoverer; daring, hardy, energetic, vain, and self-exaggerating, almost to madness; and, it is feared, more anxious to advance his own holy and unholy ends than the truth. He had in Europe lurked behind doors, he tells us, that he might hear sailors spin their yarns touching foreign lands; and he profited, it would seem, by their instructions. He came to Canada, some three years before La Salle returned from his visit to the court, and had to a certain extent prepared himself,

* Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 264, 266. What La Salle was about from the close of 1673, when Joliet returned, till July, 1678, Charlevoix tells us only in the most general terms.

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by journeyings among the Iroquois, for bolder travels into the wilderness. Having been appointed by his religious superiors to accompany the expedition which was about to start for the extreme west under La Salle, Hennepin was in readiness for him at Fort Frontenac, where he arrived, probably, some time in October, 1678.*

The Chevalier's first step was to send forward men to prepare the minds of the Indians along the lakes for his coming, and to soften their hearts by well-chosen gifts and words; and also, to pick up peltries, in which, under the king's patent, he had the almost, if not entirely exclusive right to trade in those quarters. For, it must be understood, that our hero, having had nothing in the outset, was forced to look throughout to his own good management, in order to raise funds wherewith to carry on his operations; a thing not always done with ease; indeed, few mortals seem to have been more dunned than he; and, at one time, Hennepin tells us, his property was actually under execution.† He therefore began operations by sending forward a party to collect skins, from which he might realize enough to cover his winter's expenses, which promised to be somewhat heavy. First, Fort Catarocouy was to be altered and repaired; then Lake

* Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Utrecht Edition of 1697, p. 70. — Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. pp. 266.

It may be as well here, once for all, to give the names of the lakes and rivers as they appear in the early travels.

Lake Ontario, was also Lake Frontenac.

Lake Erie, was Erike, Erige, or Erie, from a nation of Eries destroyed by the Iroquois; they lived where the State of Ohio now is (Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 62); it was also Lake of Conti.

Lake Huron, was Karegnondi in early times (*Map of* 1656); and also, Lake of Orleans.

Lake Michigan, was Lake of Puans (*Map of* 1656); also, of the Illinois, or Illinese, or Illinouacks; also Lake Mischigonong, and Lake of the Dauphin.

Lake Superior was Lake *Supérieur*, meaning the Upper, not the Larger lake, — also, Lake of Condé.

Green Bay, was Baie des Puans.

Illinois river, in Hennepin's *Louisiana*, and Joutel's *Journal*, is River Seignelay; and the Mississippi River, in those works, is River Colbert; and was by La Salle called River St. Louis.

Ohio river was Ouabouskigou, Ouabachi, Ouabache, Oyo, Ouye, Belle Rivière.

Missouri river, was Pekitanoni, Rivière des Osages, and Massourites; and by Coxe is called Yellow River.

† *New Discovery*, p. 102. We follow Hennepin, whose early *Journal* has not been disputed; it is the same in his *Louisiana* and his *New Discovery*.

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Ontario was to be crossed ; a new fort was to be built upon Lake Erie, and a bark of unexampled magnitude for those seas established thereon, to carry forward the trade which he hoped to set on foot ; and some twenty or forty men to be kept alive and hammering, while all these things were doing ; for all which purposes he had we know not what funds, but unhappily small ones at the best. However, La Salle was a man with a large heart in his bosom ; he had drawn for himself a grand outline, — the discovery, conquest, fortification, possession, and commercial union, of that immense country which lies along the greatest lakes and rivers of the world, from Ontario to Superior, from the falls of Niagara to the Gulf of Mexico ; and small obstacles were to him none at all.

Cheerfully he sent forward his pioneers, therefore, to seek for him beaver skins and other valuables ; and, upon the 18th of November, 1678, embarked with his followers in a little vessel of ten tons, to cross Lake Ontario. This, says one of his chroniclers, was the first ship that ever sailed upon that fresh water sea. The wind was strong and contrary, and four weeks nearly were passed in beating up the little distance between Kingston and Niagara. Having forced their brigantine as far toward the Falls as was possible, our travellers landed ; built some magazines with difficulty, for at times the ground was frozen so hard that they could drive their stakes, or posts, into it only by first pouring upon it boiling water ; and then made acquaintance with the Iroquois of the village of Niagara, upon Lake Erie. Not far from this village La Salle founded a second fort, upon which he set his men to work ; but, finding the Iroquois jealous, he gave it up for a time, and merely erected temporary fortifications for his magazines ; and then, leaving orders for a new ship to be built, he returned to Fort Frontenac, to forward stores, cables, and anchors for his forthcoming vessel.

Through the hard and cold winter days, the lake lying before them "like a plain paved with fine polished marble," some of his men hewed and hammered upon the *Griffin*, as the great bark was to be named, while others gathered furs and skins, or sued for the good-will of the bloody savages amid whom they were quartered : and all went merrily until the 20th of January, 1679. On that day, the Chevalier arrived from below ; not with all his goods, however, for his

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misfortunes had commenced. The vessel in which his valuables had been embarked was wrecked through the bad management of the pilots; and, though the more important part of her freight was saved, much of her provision went to the bottom, which caused the carpenters, who were working upon somewhat thin diet, to groan and even grumble. And, worse than this, those who were jealous of La Salle's monopoly, and apparent good luck, had stirred up the Iroquois, some of whom, feigning drunkenness, attacked the blacksmith of the expedition, and would have killed him, had not he, Nicol-Jarvie-like, caught a red-hot bar from the fire, and put them to flight. But Hunger and Hate had a strong soul to deal with in our Chevalier; he pushed every thing forward, while Father Hennepin did his share by preaching, and all seemed on the road to success. During the winter, also, a very nice lot of furs was scraped together, with which, early in the spring of 1679, the commander returned to Fort Frontenac to get another outfit; while Tonti was sent forward to scour the lake coasts, muster together the men who had been sent before, collect skins, and see all that was to be seen. In thus coming and going, buying and trading, the summer of this year slipped away, and it was the seventh of August before the *Griffin* was ready to sail. Then, with *Te-Deums*, and the discharge of arquebuses, she began her voyage up Lake Erie, while the Iroquois looked on in horror and amazement, which they hastened to communicate to the Dutch at "Nouvelle Jorck."†

Over Lake Erie, through the strait beyond, across St. Clair, and into Huron, the voyagers passed most happily. In Huron they were troubled by storms, dreadful as those upon the ocean, and were at last forced to take refuge in the road of Michillimackinac. This was upon the 28th of August. At this place, which is described as one "of prodigious fertility," La Salle remained till the middle of September, founded a fort there, and sent men therefrom in various directions to spy out the state of the land. He then fell down to Green Bay, the "Baie des Puans," of the French; and, finding there a large quantity of skins and furs collected for him, he determined to load the *Griffin* therewith, and send her back to Niagara, and so stop the mouths of some of his many credi-

* Hennepin.

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tors, who were becoming noisy. This was done with all promptness; and, upon the 18th of September, she was despatched under the charge of a pilot, supposed to be competent and trustworthy, while the Norman himself, with fourteen men, proceeded down Lake Michigan, paddling along its shores in the most leisurely manner; Tonti, meanwhile, having been sent to hunt up stragglers, with whom he was to form the main body at the bottom of the lake.

From the 19th of September till the 1st of November, the time was consumed by La Salle in his voyage down the sea in question. On the day last named, he arrived at the mouth of the river of the Miamis; a spot the position of which is thus clearly described by one claiming to have been there; "This country," says he, meaning that of the Miamis, "is bounded to the east by Virginia and Florida, and on the other side by the Iroquois and Illinois."* At the mouth of this stream, La Salle built the fort of the Miamis.

What river this "of the Miamis" was, has been a little questioned. Butler, in his "History of Kentucky," having no original account before him, pronounces it the Fox River of Green Bay, — an obvious mistake; † Peck says, it is supposed to have been the Chicago; ‡ and, upon a first view of Hennepin's map, one would think it the Calumet, which runs into Lake Michigan from the southwest. A little examination, however, makes it clear that it was the St. Joseph's. Hennepin describes it as coming from the southeast, (the English translation makes it south*west*, perhaps that the text and map may correspond,) and says the Illinois rises a short distance, not from its source, but from its main stream; and to this the map corresponds exactly. Now, no stream from Lake Michigan has a branch of the Illinois rising near its main current except the St. Joseph's, near which the Kaukakee rises; whence we conclude, that the Miamis river was the former, and the Illinois the latter stream. To render this the more certain, we have the maps of Joutel, La Hontan, Coxe, and some anonymous English ones of that time, all of which represent the Miamis river in the place occupied by the St. Joseph's; and that of Charlevoix, made in 1744,

* *An Account of M. De La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries.* New York Historical Collections, Vol. II. p. 233.

† *History of Kentucky,* Introduction, 2d edition, p. xviii.

‡ *Gazetteer of Illinois,* p. 103.

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which gives us the Fort of the Miamis, on the river "St. Joseph's"; which we must regard as decisive.

We have, then, La Salle and his little band driving palisades near the mouth of the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, upon the 1st of November, 1679. They were sounding the entrance of the river, too, to learn its bars and shoals, that they might warn therefrom their long-delayed *Griffin*, which ought now to be near at hand; and scouring parties were abroad in the forest for game, and for information touching the country, and their further course. And game was indeed wanting, for nothing could be had but bear's flesh, very fat and oily, for the bears had been feeding upon grapes till they were full; and this, being too rank for digestion, made the men dyspeptic and desponding. Winter began to moan in the woods, too; and the *Griffin* was still missing; "why?" men asked, and the answers which suggested themselves were far from comforting. The Iroquois might have sacked her, or creditors seized her; or her timbers, hard wrought as they had been, might have found a hard bed upon some rocky shore. Nevertheless, La Salle, nothing fearing, stuck up bear-skins upon long poles on all the shallows; and Father Hennepin preached perseverance, courage, and hope; and, by and by, Tonti dropped in to their relief, not with news of the missing ship, nor even with all the missing people, but with a canoe-full of good dry venison, most relishing to oil-deluged stomachs.

It was clear to La Salle, that he was in an awkward position; his vessel gone, no one knew how nor whither, and winter close upon him. If the rivers froze before he could get to the south, ruin and starvation were like to be his fireside comforters. So he made up his mind at once to push on without waiting for the *Griffin*.

On the 3d of December, therefore, having mustered all his men, he placed a garrison of ten in his Fort of the Miamis, and with the remainder, thirty working men and three monks, started again upon his "great voyage and glorious undertaking." *

By a short portage they passed to the Illinois, and "fell down the said river by easie journeys, the better to observe

* Charlevoix, *New France*, (Vol. II, p. 269,) tells us, that La Salle returned from the fort of the Miamis to Fort Frontenac; but Hennepin, and the journal published as Tonti's, agree that he went on, and tell a more consistent story than the historian.

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that countrey." This country consisted, in the main, of quaking bogs, where with great difficulty could a man find footing; all which answers to that about the Kaukakee. Through this swamp our adventurers floated on leisurely, sometimes in great straits for food, and, about the last of December, reached a village of the Illinois Indians containing some five hundred cabins, but, at that moment, no inhabitants. The Sieur La Salle, being in great want of bread-stuffs, took advantage of this absence of the Indians to help himself to a sufficiency of maize, of which large quantities were found hidden in holes under the huts or wigwams. This village was, as near as we can judge, not far from the spot marked on our maps as Rock Fort, in La Salle county, Illinois. The corn being got aboard, the voyagers betook themselves to the stream again, and toward evening on the 4th of January, 1780, fell into a lake, which must have been the lake of Peoria, where they caught "some excellent fish," wherewith to season their corn. While the prospect of a good supper was filling all minds, unluckily bands of savages appeared, one on each bank of the river, and they found their evening meal was likely to be a stomach full of fighting, instead of fried fish. But, as it soon seemed, the Indians were as much and as disagreeably surprised as the whites; and, when all were waiting the onset, "contented themselves," as we are told, "to ask us who we were; being naturally inclined to peace." The Frenchmen having answered this appropriate question in a satisfactory manner, the Illinois received them, "not as savages use to do, but as men well-bred and civilized." Indeed, they brought out for the new comers, "beef and stag, and all sorts of venison and fowls," which politeness the Europeans, (in a most typical manner,) repaid by bumpers of brandy, and discharges of fire-arms; and the feast lasted three whole days, the white and red men fraternizing and embracing in a manner most entirely French; so that, says the writer from whom we quote, "we discovered in the Illinois a great humanity, and a good disposition to civil society."* This tribe, if we may credit the early writers, had really something very French in them; they were "flatterers, complaisant, cunning, and dexterous." Hunting was

* *Last Discoveries of La Salle,* published with Tonti's name. See *post* as to authority.

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their great delight, and their habits were effeminate and dissolute; yet they knew the character of their conduct, and paid a kind of homage to virtue by preserving appearances.

In the midst of this nation, La Salle determined to build another fort, for he found that already some of the neighbouring tribes were trying to disturb the good feeling which existed; and, moreover, some of his own men were disposed to complain. A spot upon rising ground, near the river, was accordingly chosen about the middle of January, and the fort of *Crèvecœur* (Broken Heart), commenced; which doleful name was expressive of the very natural anxiety and sorrow, which the pretty certain loss of his *Griffin*, and his consequent impoverishment (for there were no insurance offices then), the danger of hostility on the part of the Indians, and of mutiny on the part of his own men, might well cause him.

Nor were his fears by any means groundless. In the first place, his discontented followers, and afterwards emissaries from the Mascoutens, tried to persuade the Illinois that he was a friend of the Iroquois, their most deadly enemies; and that he was among them for the purpose of enslaving them. But La Salle was an honest and fearless man, and, as soon as coldness and jealousy appeared on the part of his hosts, he went to them boldly and asked the cause, and by his frank statements preserved their good feeling and good will. His disappointed enemies, then, or at some other time, for it is not very clear when,* tried poison; and, but for "a dose of good treacle," La Salle might have ended his days in his Fort Crèvecœur.

Meanwhile the winter wore away, and the prairies were getting to look green again; but our discoverer heard no good news, received no reinforcement; his property was gone, his men were fast leaving him, and he had little left but his own strong heart. The second year of his hopes, and toils, and failures was half gone, and he further from his object than ever; but still he had that strong heart, and it was more than men and money. He saw that he must go back to Canada, raise new means, and enlist new men; but he did not dream, therefore, of relinquishing his projects.

* Charlevoix says, it was at the close of 1679; Hennepin, that they did not reach the Illinois, till January 4th, 1680. We have no means of deciding, but follow Hennepin, who is particular as to date, and was present.

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On the contrary, he determined that, while he was on his return, a small party should go down to the Mississippi and explore that stream toward its sources ; and that Tonti, with the few men that remained, should strengthen and extend his relations among the Indians.

For the leaders of the Mississippi exploring party, which was to consist of eight, he chose M. Dacan and Father Louis Hennepin ; and, having furnished them with all the necessary articles, started them upon their voyage on the last day of February, 1680.

And here we must stop our narrative, and indulge our readers with a little criticism. One of the historians of La Salle's progress so far, and the one whom we have chiefly followed, has been the worthy Recollet, Father Louis Hennepin. This same personage was the historian of the expedition to which, as we have just stated, he was attached. In the narrative of this expedition as first printed, generally known as his "Louisiana," he claimed to have done what was ordered, that is, to have gone from the mouth of the Illinois *up* the Mississippi ; but some years after, claimed to have gone *down* the Father of Waters, and discovered its mouth, and published the journal of his voyage, in the volume known as his "New Discovery." The authenticity of this journal was doubted, of course ; but the friar said, that La Salle was so jealous lest he should forestall him in his discoveries, that he dared not publish that journal in France, where his first account was put forth. People still shook their heads at Father Louis, however, and have continued to shake them to this day. Mr. Sparks, in the work before us, denies Hennepin's claim entirely, and so have many other historical scholars ; but we are not aware of any thorough critical statement of the grounds which exist for thinking the reverend Father so great a liar.* As we have no doubt that he was distinguished in that line, we will ask our reader's patience while we state them.

And, in the first place, we would remark, that the long-existing desire which Hennepin had felt to be a discoverer, and which seems to have been a passion with him, gives us a motive for his claim to be a discoverer, which, though no

* Partial statements may be found in the *Journal* of Andrew Ellicott, Philad. 1803, and in Stoddard's *Sketches of Louisiana.*

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argument against his veracity, adds weight to the circumstantial evidence upon which we have to rely for a conviction. Another circumstance worthy of note for the same reason, is the importance which the Recollet assumes to himself throughout his narrative. La Salle is sent from below with provisions for the ship which "*we*" were building; all the forts are joint work; all plans are joint plans; for his "we" does not refer to the party, but to La Salle and himself; evidently they appear in his eyes to be joint commanders. This mode of self-glorification reaches its height at the point where La Salle determines to send men to the Mississippi, while he returns to Canada; for not only does Father Louis make the whole thing result from a consultation between himself and the commander, but he entirely drops poor M. Dacan, who, from the narrative claiming to be by Tonti, and the history of Charlevoix, appears to have been the head of the band; does not mention his name even; but makes himself sole commander, historian, and lieutenant, having under him two canoe-men. And a strong evidence of looseness in his ideas of truth-telling is to be found in the fortieth chapter of his "New Discovery," where he assures us, that Joliet had often informed him, that he had never been further west than the land of the Hurons and Ottawas, (Outtawaats.) Now there is falsity here somewhere, and far more reason to think that it came from Hennepin than from Joliet.

Turning to the Journal, the veracity of which is in question, we are at once struck by the mode in which it is interpolated into the midst of the first published volume on Louisiana. For the "New Discovery" is not a new work, but is, in the main, a reprint of the "Louisiana," as far as the close of the thirty-sixth chapter, the last sentence of which begins the new Journal; the paragraph preceding, which in the "Louisiana" had been followed by the second paragraph of the forty-fourth chapter of the "New Discovery," being in substance repeated at the beginning of that forty-fourth chapter, in order to keep up the old connexion. Looking a little further, we find, that in this interpolating no change of dates has been made, to suit the altered circumstances. In the "Louisiana" * we are told, that on the 29th of February, 1680, Hennepin and his comrades left Fort Crèvecœur; that

* We use the Amsterdam edition, of 1688.

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on the 7th of March they met with the Tamaroa Indians, about two leagues from the mouth of the Illinois ; that the ice in the Mississippi detained them at the mouth of the stream they had descended, until the 12th of March ; that they then began to sound and examine the Mississippi, which, with its tributaries, is described at some length ; and finally, that, upon the 11th of April, they were taken by the savages, two hundred miles above the Illinois. In the "New Discovery" the same account is given as to the time of leaving the Fort, the events of the 7th of March, and the delay until the 12th, in consequence of ice ; then comes the interpolated journal, and it begins by saying, that on the 8th they started to go down the Mississippi. Then follow the events of the 9th, 10th, and 11th of March ; and all this is related without any perception apparently, that the story contradicts itself. But the close of the inserted Journal is worse than the beginning ; for we are told, that, upon the 1st of April, the voyagers left the mouth of the Mississippi upon their return to the north, that, upon the 9th of that month, they reached the Arkansas, and upon the 12th were taken by the savages one hundred and fifty leagues above the Illinois river ; and then follow the events of the 13th ! So fearless is Father Hennepin, that he does not hesitate to insert into his old account a new one, which informs us, that he and two men paddled a canoe upon the Mississippi, at the rate of sixteen or eighteen miles an hour, for sixty hours without cessation. His first account is not in any point incredible so far as we have examined it, and, in respect to dates and distances, is quite reasonable. According to that we have him going up the Great river at the rate of five leagues a day, about the usual distance made by canoe-men, including stoppages, as we learn from Charlevoix ; but when, in the thirty days which passed between our Reverend narrator's leaving the Illinois, and his seizure by the Indians, we have to go with him over eight hundred and twenty leagues (according to his own account), that is, twenty-seven a day, it makes our souls faint.

Nor is the substance of the inserted Journal down the Mississippi any more in its favor than are its dates. It was published in Utrecht in 1697, the very year in which the account claiming to be written by Tonti was printed in Paris. This last-named work, whatever may be its authenticity (of which more anon), was written by one well acquainted with

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the facts of La Salle's journey; and when we find, as we do, a strong resemblance between Hennepin's story and Tonti's, and also discover that the former contains nothing, not so much as the name of any tribe, which the latter does not, while it omits some things and names which the latter contains, we cannot but suspect that our Recollet copied his tale from the narrative just published under Tonti's name. Where, for instance, Tonti tells us that the Indians were absent from their town in 1683, Hennepin says they were so in 1680. Where Tonti found a village with dead bodies in the wigwams, Hennepin did also three years before. Where La Salle was received with ceremony and kindness, Father Louis had been so. Where the former heard only the drums of a nation, and saw nothing of them, the latter also heard their drums. In short, all of Hennepin's Journal, except what relates to his own actions, may have been taken from Tonti's, the general accuracy of which is confirmed by all contemporary accounts; and, though we have no means of knowing which was published earliest in the year 1697,* we have, upon the whole, little doubt that Tonti's was, and that Father Louis quietly helped himself therefrom, and in his haste omitted to preserve the due consistency of time.

Having thus examined the claims to credit of Hennepin's Journal down the Mississippi, let us take a look at that published under Tonti's name.

In our July number we referred to this work incidentally, as being but little known to our writers on Western History.† We had not, at that time, examined its claims, but took it upon the faith of the New York Historical Society, and Mr. Adams; and it may be, that in our remarks we did that generally accurate writer, Dr. Holmes, wrong, as he may have examined and rejected the volume. That Flint, Hall, or Butler had made any such examination, we think altogether improbable. Our confidence in Tonti's Journal was increased by the coincidence of its statements with those of Charlevoix, who, though he calls it a romance and fiction, confirms it in almost every detail, so far as he gives details. Three distinct charges he brings against it;‡ one relating to

* The printing of Tonti's, we see by the original edition, was finished January 21st.

† *North American Review*, Vol. XLVII., p. 5.

‡ *New France*, Vol. II. pp. 271, 277.

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Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi, which was given by the writer of Tonti's journal at second-hand of course; another touching the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, a point very open to error, and where an error of great importance had been made in printing, as is proved by the map, which gives this latitude four degrees nearer the truth than the text does;* and a third, of a more tangible kind, namely, that it is said, the canoes were paddled up stream fifty leagues in one day. This, however, we found to be a mistake by Charlevoix himself, the Journal stating that seven days were consumed in going the fifty leagues to the point where the Mississippi divides into separate channels, and one to where these unite near the sea;† Charlevoix misread the Journal, and applied the one day's journey to the point of separation instead of the point of union. Finding this to be the case, we were not disposed to reject the Journal on Charlevoix's testimony; but more lately have learned some facts that are more to the point, and which we will now lay before our readers in few words.

In the third volume of Charlevoix's history, at page 385, we find it written, that when D'Iberville visited the mouth of the Mississippi after La Salle's death, he there met with Tonti, and having asked him about the *Relation* published with his name, Tonti replied, that he had no hand in that work, but that it was prepared by some Parisian adventurer from imperfect documents, and that his name had been put to it to make it sell. It is not very clear whence the historian got this fact, but if, as is probable, from one of D'Iberville's letters, (for he speaks of having seen some of them,) there is no more to be said.

Nor is this all, for in the eleventh volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, at page 308, (we use the original Paris edition, published from year to year,) is a letter from Marest, a missionary, stating that Tonti had likewise denied the work in question to him.

It is undeniable, therefore, that the volume originally published in Paris in 1697, as by Tonti, is of very doubtful authenticity, though in most points it must be correct, as it

* Joutel's *Journal*, Preface. The only original copy of the *Journal* published as by Tonti, which we have seen, (that in Harvard College Library,) has no map.

† *New York Historical Collections*, Vol. II. p. 281.

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agrees in most points with Charlevoix's account, which was drawn from independent sources.*

Here we are, therefore, upon the banks of the Illinois, without an historian of personal experience to guide us beyond this 1st of March, 1680. Hennepin, whom we have followed (under Charlevoix's eye, however,) thus far, is off upon his own travels northward; and Tonti, whose aid we fondly hoped for, vanishes utterly. In this strait we have no resource left us but to follow the historian of New France, on whom alone we henceforth rely.

A few words, however, should be given to our old, but false friend, the Recollet, who, with his two canoe-men, to say nothing of the mysterious M. Dacan and four nameless shadows, was, upon the 11th or 12th of April, taken by the Indians. This seizure was made somewhere near Black River, and they were forthwith carried into unknown regions in the north, going as high, at any rate, as the Falls of St. Anthony, which Father Louis named.† They, or some of them, returned to Canada in a year from that time, coming by the route pursued by Marquette when going; and, in 1683, we have the Friar in Paris, publishing his "Louisiana." After that time, he made no stir in America; but continued to put forth his "Voyages in France and Holland," and is soon lost to our sight.

Once more, then, we turn to that not undeserving person, our Chevalier; who remained, when Dacan was sent away, at Fort Crèvecœur. Here, to what end we know not, he stayed till the following November, as though he had been a man of fortune and leisure; and then started for Canada again, leaving Tonti and his men among the Illinois. Upon his way up the river, he was struck by the advantages of a high rock upon the bank, and at once determined to have a fort there. He accordingly laid one out, and, sending the plan to Tonti by some stragglers, desired him to complete it. This the lieutenant tried to do; but had scarce struck spade into the earth, when those he had left at Fort Crèvecœur revolted, and he was forced to return thither at once, or all

* We thought at one time, that we were about to save our friend Tonti after all, as we got trace of a work with his name, called *Relation de la Louisiane*, &c. which we hoped might prove the fraudulent work; but the *Biographie Universelle*, Paris edition of 1811 to 1837, informs us, that this is the old volume under a new name. See Art. *Tonti*.

† See Schoolcraft's *Travels;* and Long's *Second Expedition*.

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would be lost; so the new fort on the hill remained unfinished. This new fort was afterwards called Fort St. Louis, and was the place under Tonti's command when La Salle returned to France. It was, as far as we can judge, at the spot called in our day, Rock Fort, La Salle county, Illinois.

The truth was, these French among the Indians led too easy a life altogether, and became too much attached to it to be willing to make new forts or defend old ones; so that our lieutenant found himself left with seven or eight men. This was at the close of 1680; and with this diminutive garrison, to which a stray Frenchman, or a spoiled Indian, now and then joined himself, Tonti worried along till September, 1681,* when, to his surprise and horror, there came in sight a large body of Iroquois warriors, irritated, not wearied, by their long journey across the wilderness. Of the various doings with these savages, the self-constituted M. Tonti gives a full account, while Charlevoix only tells us, that the Italian tried to act as a mediator between the Iroquois and Illinois, for whom, and not for the French, the visit seems to have been intended, but tried to little purpose, the New York savages being very unappeasable. The end of the matter, however, by all accounts, was, that Tonti found himself under the necessity of abandoning the Illinois, and quietly creeping back to Canada with five men. This was in the middle of September, 1681; and in October he reached Lake Michigan, upon the shores of which he remained through the winter.

La Salle, meanwhile, had returned to Canada, as we have said; there he busied himself in his old way, raising recruits, gathering funds, and building vessels wherewith to carry on the trade upon which he must live; and, in the spring of 1682, we find him once more upon the Illinois, manning Crèvecœur, finishing Fort St. Louis, and in one way or another killing time until August, when once more he must back to Fort Frontenac, and muster all his forces for his Second Voyage.

This second voyage commenced upon the Illinois river, in January, 1683;† but, as there was much ice to impede our

* Charlevoix says 1680, but La Salle did not go back till November, 1680.

† The Introduction to Joutel's *Journal* (p. xx.) tells us, that even then, in 1714, the second voyage of La Salle was variously represented as in 1682 and 1683, and Charlevoix writes it as in 1682; but, by examining his

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voyagers, it was the 2d of February when they reached the Mississippi, and the 9th of April when they came to its mouth; that is, it took them twice as long to go down the Mississippi as it did Hennepin (on paper) to go and come again. Of this passage Charlevoix gives us no details; but the professed Tonti is more generous, and displays for our entertainment and edification, the banks of the Illinois river, "covered over with pomegranate-trees, orange-trees, and lemon-trees"; the "Chicacha" Indians, with "faces flat like plates, which is reckoned among them for a stroke of beauty"; the "crocodiles" which come "into the world but like a chicken, being hatched of an egg"; the Indian women of the Tacucas, to one of whom he gave a pair of "cizars," who in return squeezed his hand so hard as to give him reason to think, that those women "might easily be tamed by us, and taught the politer arts of conversation"; and, also, the pearl oysters of the Natchez, the shells of which "you may see on a fair day open themselves to receive the dew of heaven; which dew breeds the first seeds of the pearl within the shells."

It is grievous to think, that all these details must be put aside as not legitimate, even if true; and nothing be left us of La Salle's second voyage but the barren date of his arrival at the seashore, and the yet more unsatisfactory statement, that he returned to Quebec some time in 1683, (it is by no means clear when, for Charlevoix has his dates tangled,) and that afterwards he embarked for France on the 9th of November, 1683, as we learn from the Baron Hontan. To these husks is plain history unhappily confined.*

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dates, it is made evident that he dropped a year; and the Journal of Tonti, in the main facts of which, whoever wrote it, we have great confidence, makes 1683 the year; we therefore adopt that. In our 99th Number, (p. 417,) it was stated, on Charlevoix's authority, that La Salle reached the Mississippi in 1682. This we may here correct; and also a misprint in our 94th Number, p. 64, where the year of this discovery is printed 1681.

* Charlevoix's dates stand thus; The summer of 1679 was spent in preparing to get off the *Griffin;* she was finished in August; on the 28th of February, 1680, Dacan left Crèvecœur; La Salle stayed there till *November* (1680 of course); *not long after* came the Iroquois, and Tonti was forced away, *September* 11th, 1680 (Tonti's narrative says 1681); a year passes, and in February, 1682, the Mississippi is reached; on the 15th of May (1682), La Salle falls sick coming up the Mississippi, and does not reach Quebec till the spring of 1683, and embarks some months after. But Tonti's account (so called) is clearer; a year is passed in Crèvecœur after La Salle leaves it; the Mississippi is reached in 1683; in May, 1683, La Salle falls

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One other and very familiar thing we find on record; trouble in Canada; the governor and the intendant quarrelling, and both recalled; the Indians threatening; and a new governor appointed, M. de la Barre, who began his administration by accusing La Salle of being a rogue, a rioter, a fomenter of discord, and a general nuisance in the colony.*

But La Salle had, fortunately, a most able advocate in France, for he was there in person; and the whole nation being stirred by the story of the new discoveries, of which Hennepin had published his first account some months before La Salle's return, our hero found ears open to drink in his words, and imaginations warmed to make the most of them. The minister, Seignelay, desired to see the adventurer, and he soon won his way to whatever heart that man had; for it could not have required much talk with La Salle to have been satisfied of his sincerity, enthusiasm, energy, and bravery. The tales of the new governor fell dead, therefore, and the king listened to the prayer of his subject, that a fleet might be sent to take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and so that great country of which he told them be secured to France. The king listened; and soon the town of Rochelle was busy with the stir of artisans, ship-riggers, adventurers, soldiers, sailors, and all that varied crowd which in those days looked into the dim West for a land where wealth and life were to be had for the seeking.

Of this third voyage of La Salle, let us be thankful that we have a full and true history. We no longer follow the fame and not truth loving Hennepin, the ghost of a Tonti, or the somewhat inaccurate and second-hand Charlevoix. We have now as our guide and comforter the worthy Monsieur Joutel, a commander and actor in that same expedition; a man of accuracy and unquestioned truth, and whose volume, as translated into English, and published in London by A. Bell, at the "Cross Keys and Bible," Cornhill, in 1714, now lies before us.

On the 24th of July, 1684, twenty-four vessels sailed from Rochelle for America, four of which were for the discovery

sick, and in September of that year reaches Michillimackinac, and in a month or more sails for France; to bring him out right Charlevoix has to keep him sick a year.

* Charlevoix's *New France*, Vol. II. p. 286.

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and settlement of the famed Louisiana. These four carried two hundred and eighty persons, including the crews ; there were soldiers, artificers, and volunteers, and also " some young women." There is no doubt that this brave fleet started full of light hearts, and vast, vague hopes ; but, alas ! it had scarce started when discord began ; for La Salle and the commander of the fleet, M. de Beaujeu, were well fitted to quarrel one with the other, but never to work together. In truth, our hero seems to have been nowise amiable, for he was overbearing, harsh, and probably selfish to the full extent to be looked for in a man of worldly ambition. However, in one of the causes of quarrel which arose during the passage, he acted, if not with policy, certainly with boldness and humanity. It was when they came to the Tropic of Cancer, where, in those times, it was customary to baptize all green hands, as is still sometimes done under the Equator. On this occasion, the sailors of La Salle's little squadron promised themselves rare sport and much plunder, grog, and other good things, the forfeit paid by those who do not wish a seasoning ; but all these expectations were stopped, and hope turned into hate, by the express and emphatic statement on the part of La Salle, that no man under his command should be ducked, whereupon the commander of the fleet was forced to forbid the ceremony.

With such beginnings of bickering and dissatisfaction the Atlantic was slowly crossed, and, upon the 20th of September, the island of St. Domingo was reached. Here certain arrangements were to be made with the colonial authorities ; but, as they were away, it became necessary to stop there for a time. And a sad time it was. The fever seized the newcomers ; the ships were crowded with sick ; La Salle himself was brought to the verge of the grave ; and, when he recovered, the first news that greeted him, was that one of his four vessels, the one wherein he had embarked his stores and implements, had been taken by the Spaniards. The sick man had to bestir himself thereupon to procure new supplies ; and, while he was doing so, his enemies were also bestirring themselves to seduce his men from him, so that what with death and desertion, he was like to have a small crew at the last. But energy did much ; and, on the 25th of November, the first of the remaining vessels, she that was

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"to carry the light," sailed for the coast of America. In her went La Salle, and our writer, Joutel.

For a whole month were our disconsolate sailors sailing, and sounding, and stopping to take in water and shoot alligators, and drifting in utter uncertainty, until, on the 28th of December, the mainland was fairly discovered. But "there being" as Joutel says, "no man among them who had any knowledge of that Bay," it was not strange, that they went feeling and trembling like one that in the dark seeks for a door; and so, feeling and stumbling, and ever fearful of knocking their noses by venturing too near the wall, they went past the very Mississippi-door which they sought; and in a most useless and melancholy manner, quarrelling and bickering, wore away the whole month of January, 1685. At last, La Salle, out of patience, determined to land some of his men, and go along the shore toward the point where he believed the mouth of the Mississippi to be, and our friend Joutel was appointed one of the commanders of this exploring party. They started on the 4th of February, and travelled eastward, (for it was clear that they had passed the door,) during three days, when they came to a great river which they could not cross, having no boats. Here they made fire-signals, and, on the 13th, two of the vessels came in sight; the mouth of the river, or entrance of the bay, for such it proved to be, was forthwith sounded, and the barks sent in to be under shelter. But, sad to say, La Salle's old fortune was at work here again; for the vessel which bore his provisions and most valuable stores, was run upon a shoal by the grossest neglect, or, as Joutel thinks, with malice prepense; and, soon after, the wind coming in strong from the sea, she fell to pieces in the night, and the bay was full of casks and packages, which could not be saved, or were worthless when drawn from the salt water. From this untimely fate our poor adventurer rescued but a small half of his second stock of indispensables.

Who can help pitying this unlucky La Salle? Full of genius, he plans one of the grandest of modern operations,—the union of Canada with the Gulf of Mexico. Full of energy, dogged perseverance, undaunted courage, he tries to execute his plan; at every step he meets some difficulty; his own men, his fellow-countrymen, the Iroquois, the very elements throw blocks in his way, and he falls again and

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again. But from each fall he rises with new strength. Having nothing at the outset, he builds vessels, and raises and equips men; when the vessels are lost, he builds others; when the men desert, he musters new recruits; and so, during four long years, battles with Fortune unweariedly, and at length makes known the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the mouth. And now, when it would seem that his future might be easier, and his fortune milder, again, all things conspire against him; two outfits are lost before his enterprise is under way; one company of followers has mostly deserted him, and now another threatens to do likewise. But was it indeed Fortune that for ever heaped evil on his head? Not wholly; we see enough of La Salle, dim as his features are to us, to see that loveliness was no trait of his. He bound none to him by the only indissoluble cord, affection. Men stood aloof, or worked with, not for him; from fear, or selfish ambition, never (unless somewhat in Tonti's case) from that personal reverence and love, which bound men to Washington; and of his misfortunes a large proportion came from the ill-will of his enemies.

But leaving such thoughts, let us look at our friend the Chevalier's condition in the middle of March, 1685. Beaujeu, with his ship, is gone, leaving his comrades in the marshy wilderness, with not much of joy to look forward to. They had guns and powder and shot; eight cannon, too, "but not one bullet," that is, cannon-ball, the naval gentlemen having refused to give them any. And here are our lonely settlers, building a fort upon the shores of the Bay of St. Louis, as they called it, known to us as the Bay of St. Bernard. They build from the wreck of their ship, we cannot think with light hearts; every plank and timber tells of past ill luck, and, as they look forward, there is vision of irritated savages (for there had been warring already), of long search for the *Hidden River*,* of toils and dangers in its ascent when reached. No wonder, that "during that time several men deserted." So strong was the fever for desertion, that, of some who stole away and were retaken, it was found necessary to execute one, while the others were condemned "to serve the King ten years in that country"; a mode of

* So the Spaniards called the Mississippi.

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punishment, which may be termed nominal, probably, it being a sort of forced enlistment on the part of our Chevalier.

And now La Salle prepares to issue from his nearly completed fort, to look round and see where he is. He has still a good force, some hundred and fifty people; and, by prompt and determined action, much may be done between this last of March and next autumn. In the first place, the river falling into the Bay of St. Louis is examined, and a new fort commenced in that neighbourhood, where seed is planted also; for the men begin to tire of meat and fish, with spare allowance of bread, and no vegetables. But the old luck is at work still. The seed will not sprout; men desert; the fort goes forward miserably slow; and at last, three months and more gone to no purpose, Joutel and his men, who are still hewing timber at the first fort, are sent for, and told to bring their timber with them in a float. The float or raft was begun "with immense labor," says the wearied historian, but all to no purpose, for the weather was so adverse, that it had to be all taken apart again and buried in the sand. Empty-handed, therefore, Joutel sought his superior, the effects being left at a post by the way. And he came to a scene of desolation; men sick, and no houses to put them in; all the looked-for crop blasted; and not a ray of comfort from any quarter.

"Well," said La Salle, "we must now muster all hands, and build ourselves 'a large lodgment.'" But there was no timber within a league; and not a cart nor a bullock to be had, for the buffaloes, though abundant, were ill broken to such labor. If done, this dragging must be done by men; so, over the long grass and weeds of the prairie-plain, they dragged some sticks, with vast suffering. Afterwards the carriage of a gun was tried; but it would not do; "the ablest men were quite spent." Indeed, heaving and hauling over that damp plain, and under that July sun, might have tried the constitution of the best of Africans; and of the poor Frenchmen thirty died, worn out. The carpenter was lost; and, worse still, La Salle, wearied, worried, disappointed, lost his temper and insulted the men. So closed July; our Chevalier turned carpenter, marking out the tenons and mortises of what timber he could get, and growing daily more cross. In March we thought much might be done before

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autumn, and now autumn stands but one month removed from us, and not even a house built yet.

And August soon passed too, not without results, however; for the timber that had been buried below was got up, and a second house built, "all covered with planks and bullock's hides over them."

And now once more was La Salle ready to seek the Mississippi. First, he thought he would try with the last of the four barks with which he left France; the bark *La Belle*, "a little frigate, carrying six guns," which the King had given our Chevalier to be his navy. But, after having put all his clothes and valuables on board of her, he determined to try with twenty men to reach his object by land. This was in December, 1685. From this expedition he did not return until March, 1686, when he came to his fort again, ragged, hatless, and worn down, with six or seven followers at his heels, his travels having been all in vain. It was not very encouraging; but, says Joutel, "we thought only of making ourselves as merry as we could." The next day came the rest of the party, who had been sent to find the little frigate, which should have been in the bay. They came mournfully, for the little frigate could not be found, and she had all La Salle's best effects on board.

The bark was gone; but our hero's heart was still beating in his bosom, a little cracked and shaken, but strong and iron-bound still. So, borrowing some changes of linen from Joutel, toward the latter end of April he again set forth, he and twenty men, each with his pack, "to look for his river," as our writer aptly terms it. Some days after his departure, the bark *La Belle* came to light again; for she was not lost, but only ashore. Deserted by her forlorn and diminished crew, however, she seems to have been suffered to break up and go to pieces in her own way, for we hear no more of the little frigate.

And now, for a time, things went on pretty smoothly. There was even a marriage at the fort; and "Monsieur le Marquis de la Sablonière" wished to act as groom in a second, but Joutel absolutely refused. By and by, however, the men, seeing that La Salle did not return, "began to mutter." There were even proposals afloat to make way with our friend Joutel, and start upon a new enterprise; the leader in which half-formed plan was one Sieur Duhaut, an

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unsafe man, and inimical to La Salle, who had, probably, maltreated him somewhat. Joutel, however, learned the state of matters, and put a stop to all such proceedings. Knowing idleness to be a root of countless evils, he made his men work and dance as long as there was vigor enough in them to keep their limbs in motion; and in such manner the summer passed away, until in August La Salle returned. He had been among the Indians in the north of Mexico, and also toward the Mississippi, had traded with them, and brought home five horses; but, of the twenty men he had taken with him, only eight returned, some having fallen sick, some having died, and others deserted. He had not found "his river," though he had been so far in that direction; but he came back full of spirits, "which," says our writer, "revived the lowest ebb of hope." He was all ready, too, to start again at once, to seek the Mississippi, and go onward to Canada, and thence to France, to get new recruits and supplies; but "it was determined to let the great heats pass before that enterprise was taken in hand." And the heats passed, but with them our hero's health, so that the proposed journey was delayed from time to time until the 12th of January, 1687.

On that day started the last company of La Salle's adventurers, seventeen in number. Among them went the discontented Duhaut; and all took their "leaves with so much tenderness and sorrow as if they had all presaged that they should never see each other more." They went northwest along the bank of the river on which their fort stood, until they came to where the streams running toward the coast were fordable, and then turned eastward, as in that direction they hoped to find the Mississippi. From the 12th of January till the 15th of March did they thus journey across that southern country, crossing "curious meadows," through which ran "several little brooks of very clear and good water," which, with the tall trees, all of a size, and planted as if by a line, "afforded a most delightful landskip." They met many Indians too, with whom La Salle established relations of peace and friendship. Game was abundant, "plenty of foul, and particularly of turkeys," was there, which was "an ease to their sufferings"; and so they still toiled on in shoes of green bullocks' hide, which, dried by the sun, pinched cruelly, until, following the tracks of the buffaloes,

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who choose by instinct the best ways, they had come to a pleasanter country than they had yet passed through, and were far toward the long-sought Father of Waters.

On the 15th of March, La Salle, recognising the spot where they then were as one through which he had passed in his former journey, and near which he had hidden some beans and Indian wheat, ordered the Sieurs Duhaut, Hiens, Liotot the surgeon, and some others, to go and seek them. This they did, but found that the food was all spoiled, so they turned toward the camp again. While coming campward they chanced upon two bullocks, which were killed by one of La Salle's hunters, who was with them. So they sent the commander word that they had killed some meat, and that, if he would have the flesh dried, he might send horses to carry it to the place where he lay ; and, meanwhile, they cut up the bullocks, and took out the marrow-bones, and laid them aside for their own choice eating, as was usual to do. When La Salle heard of the meat that had been taken, he sent his nephew and chief confidant, M. Moranget, with one De Male, and his own footman, giving them orders to send all that was fit to the camp at once. M. Moranget, when he came to where Duhaut and the rest were, and found that they had laid by for themselves the marrow-bones, became angry, took from them their choice pieces, threatened them, and spoke harsh words. This treatment touched these men, already not well pleased, to the quick ; and, when it was night, they took counsel together how they might best have their revenge. The end of such counselling, where anger is foremost, and the wilderness is all about one, needs scarce to be told ; " we will have their blood, all that are of that party shall die," said these malcontents. So, when M. Moranget and the rest had supped and fallen asleep, Liotot the surgeon took an axe, and with few strokes killed them all ; all that were of La Salle's party, even his poor Indian hunter, because he was faithful ; and, lest De Male might not be with them (for him they did not kill), they forced him to stab M. Moranget, who had not died by the first blow of Liotot's axe, and then threw them out for the carrion-birds to feast on.

This murder was done upon the 17th of March. And at once the murderers would have killed La Salle, but he and his men were on the other side of a river, and the water for two days was so high they could not cross ; so they sat, eat-

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ing of their bullocks, and meditating what they had done and must yet do. There was, beyond doubt, less sweetness in those marrow-bones which they had won so dearly, than they had hoped for.

La Salle on his part was growing anxious too; his nephew so long absent, what meant it? and he went about asking if Duhaut had not been a malcontent; but none said, Yes. Doubtless there was something in La Salle's heart, which told him his followers had cause to be his foes. It was now the 20th of the month, and he could not forbear setting out to seek his lost relative. Leaving Joutel in command, therefore, he started with a Franciscan monk and one Indian. Coming near the hut which the murderers had put up, though still on the opposite side of the river, he saw carrion-birds hovering near, and, to call attention if any were there, fired a shot. There were keen and watching ears and eyes there; the gun told them to be quick, for their prey was in the net; so, at once, Duhaut and another crossed the river, and, while the first hid himself among the tall weeds, the latter showed himself to La Salle at a good distance off. Going instantly to meet him, the fated man passed near to the spot where Duhaut lay hid. The traitor lay still till he came opposite; then, raising his piece, shot his commander through the brain, "so that he dropped down dead on the spot, without speaking one word."

Thus fell La Salle, on the threshold of success. No man had more strongly all the elements that would have borne him safe through, if we except that element which insures affection. "He had a capacity and talent," says Joutel, one of his staunchest friends, "to make his enterprise successful; his constancy, and courage, and extraordinary knowledge in arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for any thing, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behaviour, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness toward those that were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death."

La Salle died, as far as we can judge, upon a branch of Trinity River.*

* Map in Charlevoix, Vol. III., where the spot is marked.

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And now, the leader being killed, his followers toiled on mournfully, and in fear, each of the others, — Duhaut assuming the command, — until May. Then there arose a difference among them as to their future course ; and, by and by, things coming to extremities, some of La Salle's murderers turned upon the others, and Duhaut and Liotot were killed by their comrades. So blood is still washed out by blood, and there is ever a stain behind. This done, the now dominant party determined to remain among the Indians, with whom they then were, and where they found some who had been with La Salle in his former expedition, and had deserted. These were living among the savages, painted, and shaved, and naked, with great store of squaws and scalps. But our good Monsieur Joutel was not of this way of thinking ; he and some others still wished to find the Great River and get to Canada. At last, all consenting, he did, with six others, leave the main body, and take up his march for the Illinois, where he hoped to find Tonti, who should have been all this while at Fort St. Louis. This was in May, 1687.

With great labor this little band forced their heavy-laden horses over the fat soil, in which they often stuck fast ; and, daring countless dangers, at length, upon the 24th of July, reached the Arkansas, where they found a post containing a few Frenchmen, who had been placed there by Tonti. Here they stayed a little while, and then went forward again, until, upon the 14th of September, they reached Fort Louis, upon the Illinois. At this post, Joutel remained until the following March, — that of 1688, — when he set off for Quebec, which city he reached in the last of July, just four years having passed since he sailed from Rochelle.*

Thus ended La Salle's third and last voyage, producing no permanent settlement ; for the Spaniards came, dismantled the fort upon the Bay of St. Louis, and carried away its garrison, and the Frenchmen who had been left elsewhere in the southwest intermingled with the Indians, until all trace of them was lost.

And so ended our adventurer's endeavours, in defeat.

* We have followed throughout Joutel alone ; Charlevoix vouches for him, (*New France,* Vol. III. 56.) Hennepin gives a second-hand account, drawn from the monks of his order who were with La Salle, which in most points agrees with Joutel's. That given in the *Journal* under Tonti's name is wholly different, and is also professedly second-hand from Cavalier.

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Yet he had not worked and suffered in vain. He had thrown open to France and the world an immense and most valuable country; had established several permanent forts, and laid the foundation of more than one settlement there. Peoria, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, to this day, are monuments of La Salle's labors; for, though he founded neither of them, (unless Peoria was built upon the site of Fort Crèvecœur,) it was by those whom he brought into the West, that these places were peopled and civilized. He was, if not the discoverer, the first settler of the Mississippi Valley, and as such deserves to be known and honored.

And now, having buried the gentle Marquette and stout Sieur La Salle, what little interest there may have been in our sketch of western travel in old times is passed away. For, dim as have been the features of these our adventurers, those that succeed to them are ghosts indeed; and our interest in a tale is ever in proportion to the flesh and blood that walk and speak in it; whence novels chain our attention more than history, though there is no doubt, that the events of the true ever surpass in wonder those of the fictitious story.

We have now, among our foremost personages in this shadowy band, the genuine Tonti. Tonti, left by La Salle when he sailed for France, after reaching the Gulf of Mexico, in 1683, remained as commander of that Rock Fort of St. Louis, which he had begun in 1680, and which he now finished. Here he stayed, swaying absolutely the Indian tribes, and acting as viceroy over the unknown and uncounted Frenchmen who were beginning to wander through that beautiful country, making discoveries of which we have no records left. In 1685, looking to meet La Salle, he went down to the mouth of the Mississippi; of which going we have a full account in his apocryphal *Relation*, and an undoubted proof in a letter from him to La Salle, dated April 20th, 1685, written at the village of the Quinipissas, and mourning that they had not met at the mouth of the Mississippi, as had been expected.* Alas! at the very moment that the faithful Tonti was writing his regrets, his friend and commander was looking, with heavy heart, at his men as

* Given in Charlevoix, Vol. III. 383.

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they toiled together building, from the wreck of his vessel, the fated fort upon the Bay of St. Louis!

Finding no signs of his old comrade, Tonti turns northward again, and reaching his fort on the Illinois, finds work to do; for the Iroquois, long threatening, were now in the battle-field, backed by the English, and Tonti, with his western-wild allies, was forced to march and fight. Engaged in this business, he appears to us at intervals in the pages of Charlevoix; in the fall of 1687 we have him with Joutel, at Fort St. Louis; in April, 1689, he suddenly appears to us at Crèvecœur, revealed by the Baron La Hontan; and again, early in 1700, D'Iberville is visited by him at the mouth of the Mississippi. After that we see him no more, and the *Biographie Universelle* tells us, that, though he remained many years in Louisiana, he finally was not there; but of his death or departure thence no one knows. So vaguely lives and dies the Chevalier Tonti, an Italian by birth, and an old soldier. He had lost his hand by a grenade, at some famous siege of those times, and was, upon the whole, noted in his generation.

Next in sequence, we have a glimpse of the abovenamed Baron La Hontan, discoverer of the Long River, and, as that discovery proves, drawer of a somewhat long bow. By his volumes, published *à la Haye*, in 1706, we learn, that he too warred against the Iroquois in 1687 and 1688; and, having gone so far westward as the Lake of the Illinois, thought he would contribute his mite to the discoveries of those times. So, with a sufficient escort, he crossed, by Marquette's old route, Fox River and the Wisconsin, to the Mississippi; and, turning up that stream, sailed thereon till he came to the mouth of a river, called ***Long River***, coming from the West. This river emptied itself (as appears by his map) nearly where the St. Peter's does in our day. Upon this stream, one of immense size, our Baron sailed for eighty and odd days, meeting the most extensive and civilized Indian nations of which we have any account, that is to say, in those regions; and, after his eighty and odd days' sailing, he got less than half-way to the head of this great river, which was, indeed, not less than two thousand miles long, and, as he learned from the red men, who drew him a map of its course above his stopping-point, led to a lake, whence another river led to the South Sea; so that at last the

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great problem of those days was solved, and the wealth of China and the East thrown open by the Baron de la Hontan.* And why, we might ask the Baron, did you not go and bathe in that South Sea, instead of floating down the Long River again, and paddling up the comparatively inconsiderable Missouri? Probably this question was asked in those days, for we find the Baron's story much doubted and denied, though he was not, like La Salle, an adventurer, but a man in authority, governor of Newfoundland in after days, and well known at home and abroad. Poor Baron, he was, and is well known; but it is as the foolish inventor of a lie, which, lifting him for the moment above his level, made his fall to earth again, deadly. And so he passes.†

And now our sketch becomes dimmer than ever. "La Salle's death," says Charlevoix, in one place, "dispersed the French who had gathered upon the Illinois;" but in another, he speaks of Tonti and twenty Canadians, as established among the Illinois three years after the Chevalier's fate was known there.‡ This, however, is clear, that about 1700 or 1705, the reverend Father Gravier began a mission among the Illinois, at the spot, as the historian of New France says, where Fort St. Louis had been; or, as we should suppose from the letter of Father Gabriel Marest, dated at Cascasquias, November 9th, 1712, somewhere in the neighbourhood of that settlement.§ At any rate, Gravier, and Marest his fellow-laborer, succeeded in gathering a little flock of converted Indians about them, and laid the corner-stone of that permanent French settlement in Illinois, the remains of which astonish the traveller at this day. In 1750, as we are told by one of the missionaries, Vivier, then laboring "aux Illinois," there were in that country five French villages, containing one hundred and forty families, and three villages of colonized natives, numbering not less than six hundred.‖

* *Voyages de La Hontan*, Vol. I. p. 194.

† See the Preface to Schoolcraft's *Travels*, and Long's *Journey up the St. Peter's*. These men knew the whole ground over which La Hontan says he went; and yet we have at times thought that the Baron may have entered the St. Peter's when filled with the back waters of the Mississippi, and heard from the Indians of the connexion by it and the Red River with Lake Winnipeg, and the communication between that lake and Hudson's Bay, by Nelson River, and, looking westward all the while, turned Hudson's Bay into the South Sea. — See map in Long's *Second Expedition up the St. Peter's*, and La Hontan's maps.

‡ *New France*, Vol. III. pp. 395, 383.

§ *Lettres Edifiantes*, (original edition,) Vol. XI. ‖ Id. Vol. XXVIII. p. 36.

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An attempt was also made to build up a settlement at the point where the Ohio and Mississippi join, at all times a favorite spot among planners of towns, and at this moment, if we mistake not, in the process of being made into a town. The first who tried this spot was the Sieur Juchereau, a Canadian gentleman, assisted by Father Mermet, who was to christianize the Mascoutens, of whom a large flock was soon gathered.* But these savages were less docile, pliable, and French, than the Illinois, and with superstitious ardor placed all faith in their magicians or jugglers. Our worthy Father Mermet thought his first step should be to corner and confound these pseudo-priests; so, in the presence of the assembled colony, he opened an argument with one of them, one whose god was the Buffalo. With cunning questions the wise European puzzled his antagonist, and forced him, at length, to own publicly and directly, that it was not the beast, Buffalo, to which he bowed, but that Spirit which had charge of the beast, and which was unseen, unknown; nay, still further, the unwise juggler was led to acknowledge, that the Spirit of the Buffalo was worshipful because it was good, and that this was known by the excellency of its charge, the beast in question. "Ah ha!" said the wily schoolman, "now I have you; for if the excellency of the animal signifies that of its Spirit, and therefore is worshipful, then must you own that the Spirit of man, who is better than any other animal, is better than any other spirit; and therefore you must worship God." Nothing could be more logical, and no logical "must" more imperative. But the poor wild men laughed at demonstration, and went on worshipping the Buffalo; for he, and not the God of Father Mermet, had been kind to them; *he had made the buffaloes, which had supplied them with meat and clothing!* Would not our good Father have done well to try the argument, that he and they were worshipping one Being, the Giver of good gifts?

But the attempt of our Canadian gentleman and his reverend assistant failed. Sickness came, and, as the savages were ready to believe the white man's God *stronger* than theirs, they (very likely at the suggestion of Father Mermet himself) looked on the epidemic as the effect of his wrath,

* Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 393. — *Lettres Edifiantes* (selected). Paris Edition of 1809, Vol. VII. p. 127.

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kindled by their conduct. So, after trying without success to kill his minister, our missionary, and then to appease him by a procession and prayers, they at last deserted the low and sickly land, and took to their woods and free life again.

Of the date of these doings we find no mention; but from Vivier's letter, already quoted, it is clear, that, previous to 1750, no settlement existed upon the Ohio or any of its branches, as he enumerates all then in being. The cause of this is not clear, as Hennepin was aware of the existence of "a great river, called Hoio, which passes through the country of the Iroquois," in 1673 or 1674. Indeed, we are told the route from the Lakes by that great river had been explored in 1676;* and in Hennepin's volume of 1698 is a short journal, professing to be that sent by La Salle to Count Frontenac, in 1683, which mentions the Maumee and Wabash as the most direct road from Canada to the Mississippi. And yet, though we hear of journeying by this way, there is no record of any attempt at a settlement above the mouth of the Ohio before 1750. †

In thus running over the progress of things in Illinois, we have far outrun all dates and times, and must turn back and make known to our readers the doings of the successor of La Salle in the attempt to find the mouth of the Mississippi, Monsieur D'Iberville.

This officer, who from 1694 to 1697 distinguished himself not a little by battles and conquests among the icebergs of the "Baye d'Udson" or Hudson's Bay,‡ having, in the year last named, returned to France, proposed to the minister to try, what had been given up since La Salle's sad fate, the discovery and settlement of Louisiana by sea. The Count of Pontchartrain, who was then at the head of marine affairs, was led to take an interest in the proposition; and, upon the 17th of October, 1698, D'Iberville took his leave of France, handsomely equipped for his expedition, and with two good ships to forward him in his attempt. §

Of this D'Iberville we have no very clear notion, except that he was a man of judgment, self-possession, and prompt action. Gabriel Marest presents him to us in the "Baye d'Udson,"

* *Hist. Gén. des Voyages*, Vol. XIV. p. 758.
† The details of this subject may be presented by us in another paper.
‡ *New France*, Vol. III. pp. 215, 299.—*Lettres Edifiantes*, Vol. X. p. 280.
§ *New France*, Vol. III. p. 377.

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his ships crowded and almost crushed by the ice, and his brother, a young, bright boy of nineteen, his favorite brother, just killed by a chance shot from the English fort which they were besieging; — and there the commander stands on the icy deck, the cold October wind singing in the shrouds, and his dead brother waiting till their lives are secured before he can receive Christian burial, — there he stands, "moved exceedingly," says the missionary, — but giving his orders with a calm face, full tone, and clear mind. "He put his trust on God," says Father Gabriel, "and God consoled him from that day; the same tide brought both his vessels out of danger, and bore them to the spot where they were wanted."*

Such was the man who, upon the 31st of January, 1699, let go his anchor in the Bay of Mobile. Having looked about him at this spot, he went thence to seek the great river called by the savages, says Charlevoix, "Malbouchia," and by the Spaniards, "la Palissade," from the great number of trees about its mouth. Searching carefully, upon the 2d of March our commander found and entered the Hidden River, whose mouth had been so long and unsuccessfully sought. As soon as this was done, one of the vessels returned to France to carry thither the news of D'Iberville's success, while he turned his prow up the Father of Waters. Slowly ascending the vast stream, he found himself puzzled by the little resemblance which it bore to that described by Tonti and by Hennepin. So great were the discrepances, that he had begun to doubt if he were not upon the wrong river, when an Indian chief sent to him Tonti's letter to La Salle, on which, through fourteen years, those wild men had been looking with wonder and awe. Assured by this that he had indeed reached the desired spot, and wearied probably by his tedious sail thus far, he returned to the Bay of Biloxi, between the Mississippi and the Mobile waters, built a fort in that neighbourhood, and, having manned it in a suitable manner, returned to France himself. †

While he was gone, in the month of September, 1699, the lieutenant of his fort, M. De Bienville, went round to explore the mouths of the Mississippi, and take soundings. Engaged in this business, he had rowed up the main entrance

* *Lettres Edifiantes*, Vol. X. p. 300. † *New France*, Vol. III. p. 380, *et seq.*

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some twenty-five leagues, when, unexpectedly and to his no little chagrin, a British corvette came in sight, a vessel carrying twelve cannon, slowly creeping up the swift current. M. Bienville, nothing daunted, though he had but his leads and lines to do battle with, spoke up, and said, that, if this vessel did not leave the river without delay, he had force enough at hand to make her repent it. All which had its effect; the Britons about ship and stood to sea again, growling as they went, and saying, that they had discovered that country fifty years before, that they had a better right to it than the French, and would soon make them know it. This was the first meeting of those rival nations in the Mississippi Valley, which, from that day, was a bone of contention between them till the conclusion of the old French war. Nor did the matter rest long with this visit from the corvette. Englishmen began to creep over the mountains from Carolina, and, trading with the Chicachas, or Chickasaws of our day, stirred them up to acts of enmity against the French.

When D'Iberville came back from France, in January, 1700, and heard of these things, he determined to take possession of the country anew, and to build a fort upon the banks of the Mississippi itself. So, with due form, the vast valley of the West was again sworn in to Louis, as the whole continent through to the South Sea had been previously sworn in by the English to the Charleses and Jameses; and, what was more effectual, a little fort was built, and four pieces of cannon placed therein. But even this was not much to the purpose; for it soon disappeared, and the marshes about the mouth of the Great River were again, as they had ever been, and long must be, uninhabited by men.

And now we must turn aside for a time, and let our readers know something of these English claims and attempts.

"King Charles the First, in the fifth year of his reign (1630), granted unto Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general, a patent of all that part of America," which lies between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees north latitude, from sea to sea. Eight years afterwards, Sir Robert conveyed this very handsome property to Lord Maltravers, who was soon, by his father's death, Earl of Arundel. From him, by we know not what course of conveyance, this grant, which formed the Province of Carolana (not Carolina), came into the hands of Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was, in the opinion of the attorney-

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general of England, true owner of that Province in the year of D'Iberville's discovery, 1699.*

In support of the English claim, thus originating, we are told by Dr. Coxe, that, from the year 1654 to the year 1664, one "Colonel Wood in Virginia, inhabiting at the Falls of James River, above a hundred miles west of Chesapeake Bay, discovered at several times, several branches of the great rivers, Ohio and Meschasebe." Nay, the Doctor affirms, that he had himself possessed, in past days, the Journal of a Mr. Needham, who was in the Colonel's employ, which Journal, he adds, "is now in the hands of," &c. The Doctor also states, that about the year 1676, he had in his keeping a Journal, written by some one who had gone from the mouth of the Mississippi, up as far as the Yellow or Muddy River, otherwise called Missouri; and he says, this Journal, in almost every particular, was confirmed by the late travels. And still further, Dr. Coxe assures us, that, in 1678, "a considerable number of persons went from New England upon discovery, and proceeded so far as New Mexico, one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the river Meschasebe, and, at their return, rendered an account to the government at Boston;" for the truth of all which he calls Governor Dudley, who was still living, as witness. Nor had he been idle himself; "apprehending that the planting of this country would be highly beneficial," he tried to reach it first from Carolina, then from "Pensilvania, by the Susquehannah river," and "many of his people travelled to New Mexico." He had also made discoveries through the great river Ochequiton, or, as we call it, Alabama; and "more to the northwest, beyond the river Meschasebe," had found "a very great sea of fresh water, several thousand miles in circumference," whence a river ran into the South Sea, about the latitude of forty-four degrees, and "through this," he adds, "we are assured the English have since entered that great lake."

These various statements are, it must be owned, somewhat startling; but, leaving them undisturbed for the present, we can see clearly the bearing of what follows, namely, that the Doctor, in 1698, fitted out two vessels, well armed and manned, one of which (when, we hear not) entered

* *A Description of the English Province of Carolana,* &c. by Daniel Coxe, Esquire. London, 1722. pp. 113 *et seq.*

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the Mississippi and ascended it above one hundred miles, and then returned, — wherefore, is not specially stated. This was, doubtless, the corvette which M. Bienville turned out of what he considered French domains; as Charlevoix tells us, that the vessel, which Bienville met, was one of two which left England in 1698, armed with thirty-six guns, the same number which Daniel Coxe, the Doctor's son, tells us, were borne by his father's vessels. The English, having thus found their way to the Meschasebe, wished to prosecute the matter, and it was proposed to make there a settlement of the French Huguenots, who had fled to Carolina; but the death of Lord Lonsdale, the chief forwarder of the scheme, put an end to that plan, and we do not learn from Coxe, whose work appeared in 1722, that any further attempts were made by England, whose wars and woes nearer home kept her fully employed.

And now, what are we to say to those bold statements by Coxe; statements contained in his memorial to the King in 1699, and such as could hardly, one would think, be tales *à la Hontan*? Colonel Wood's adventures are recorded by no other writer, so far as we have read; for, though Hutchins, who was geographer to the United States when the western lands were first surveyed, refers to Wood, and also to one Captain Bolt, who crossed the Alleghanies in 1670, his remarks are very vague, and he gives us no one to look to, as knowing the circumstances. Of the Boston expedition we know still less; the story is repeated from Coxe by various pamphlet writers of those days, when Law's scheme had waked up England to a very decided interest in the West; but all examinations of contemporary writers, and the town records, have as yet failed to lend a single fact in support of this part of the Doctor's tale.

But what makes us suspect the whole, is his account of discoveries to the northwest which were never made, and which account, in all probability, was taken direct from the author of the Long River. We must own, therefore, that we are disposed to doubt all Dr. Coxe's statement relative to English travellers upon the Mississippi, and to think that he was guided and spurred on, in his undertaking of 1698, by the two spurious narratives of Hennepin and Tonti, published in 1697.

Resuming our sketch of French endeavours, we have next

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to record the project of our friend D'Iberville to found a city among the Natchez, which nation he visited in 1700, — a city to be named, in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain, *Rosalie*. Indeed, he did pretend to lay the corner-stone of such a place, though it was not till 1714 that the fort called *Rosalie* was founded, where the city of Natchez is standing at this day.

Having thus built a fort at the mouth of the Great River, and begun a settlement upon a choice spot above, D'Iberville once more sought Europe, having, before he left, ordered M. Le Sueur to go up the Mississippi in search of a copper mine, which that personage had previously got a clue to, upon a branch of the St. Peter's river ; * which order was fulfilled, and much metal obtained, though at the cost of great suffering. Mining was always a Jack-a-lantern with the first settlers of America, and our French friends were no wiser than their neighbours. The products of the soil were, indeed, scarce thought valuable on a large scale, it being supposed that the wealth of Louisiana consisted in its pearl-fishery, its mines, and the wool of its wild cattle.† In 1701 the commander came again, and began a new establishment upon the river Maubile, one which superseded that at Biloxi, which thus far had been the chief fort in that southern colony. After this things went on but slowly until 1708 ; D'Iberville died on one of his voyages between the mother country and her sickly daughter, and after his death little was done. In 1708, however, M. D'Artagnette came from France as commissary of Louisiana, and, being a man of spirit and energy, did more for it than had been done before. But it still lingered ; and, under the impression that a private man of property might do more for it than the government could, the King, upon the 14th of September, 1712, granted to Crozat, a man of great wealth, the monopoly of Louisiana for fifteen years, and the absolute ownership of whatever mines he might cause to be opened.

Crozat relied mainly upon two things for success in his speculation ; the one, the discovery of mines ; the other, a lucrative trade with New Mexico. In regard to the first,

* Charlevoix, Vol. IV. pp. 162, 164. In Long's *Second Expedition*, p. 318, may be seen a detailed account of Le Sueur's proceedings, taken from a manuscript statement of them.

† Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 389.

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after many years' labor, he was entirely disappointed; and met with no better success in his attempt to open a trade with the Spaniards, although he sent to them both by sea and land.

His agent in the land enterprise was the Sieur Juchereau, probably the same that tried with Mermet to colonize and convert the Mascoutens. He, with great labor and hazard, found his way to the Viceroy of Mexico, who dwelt in the city of that name; but, no sooner had he presented himself to the Spanish grandee, than he was seized and cast into prison, where he lay three months. At length, some French officers, who were in the Spanish service, prevailed upon the Viceroy to let him come into free air again; and, as he was thrown into the company of that personage, the Spaniard's heart was touched by the noble and honest character of the Sieur Juchereau, and he took him kindly by the hand, and made him eat at his own table. As they thus came closer in contact, the Spaniard ever found the more to love and admire in his prisoner. He began to try to persuade him to leave the French service, and remain where he was; and the French officers added their persuasions. It was no slight temptation to a man like the Sieur Juchereau, without property or prospect; but he was a true man, and declined all offers. "Well," said the Spaniard, when all other argument failed, "are you not already half Spanish? Do you not love a Spanish maiden at Fort St. Jean? Will not the hope of gaining her hand win you over?" "I cannot deny," answered the gallant Frenchman, "that I love the damsel, though I have no hope of winning her." "But you shall win her," said the Viceroy. "Hearken! for two months you may think of my offer; then join us, and you shall be wedded to the lady of your love, and made an officer in our ranks." The two months slowly pass; and now how is it with our Sieur Juchereau? "I cannot desert my king," is his constant answer. The Viceroy, more touched than ever, gives him his liberty; places in his hands a purse with a thousand piastres in it, "to defray," he said, "his wedding expenses, for he still hoped Doña Maria would persuade him;" and, with a firm and melancholy face, the Frenchman turns northward.

A few days' travel brings him to the Fort St. Jean, where he finds Don Pedro de Velascas, the father of the damsel, plunged in grief, because certain of the Indian tribes within

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his jurisdiction had determined to remove elsewhere, which he knew would call down upon him the anger of his superiors, and probably cost him his life. Juchereau, hearing how things stood, offered his services, to go to the savages, and try to persuade them to stay. "But they will kill you!" cries the astonished Don Pedro. "I have no fear," replies the Sieur; and on the morrow, with his friend Jallot, a surgeon, he mounts and seeks the red men, who had already left their old homes. On their swift horses, the fearless Frenchmen make rapid progress, and soon overtake the moving multitude; and, with his white handkerchief held aloft as a flag of friendship, the Sieur asks a conference with the chiefs. Long skilled in Indian ways, and, above all, true as the sun, he soon persuades the wild men that they are acting unwisely; he appeals to their love of their old homes; paints the dangers of the course they are taking; and guaranties them good treatment, if they will but go back. The chiefs consult, hesitate, listen, and consult again; and the next day, Don Pedro, looking anxiously abroad, sees the two Europeans return with all the Indians at their back. And now was Doña Maria won indeed; not by battle, but by peace-making; and soon the little Spanish frontier town was all astir to celebrate the nuptials of the fair daughter of its governor, and her true Christian knight.*

But, happy as the Sieur Juchereau's mission had been for himself, it had done nothing for his employers; for the Viceroy's last words had been, "I can allow no trade between Mexico and Louisiana." Crozat, therefore, being disappointed in his mines and his trade, and having, withal, managed so badly as to diminish the colony, at last, in 1717, resigned his privileges to the King again. Then was formed Law's famous West India Company, who sent out settlers in 1717 and 1718, in one of which years New Orleans was laid out.† This company was to have had a monopoly of the commerce of the Mississippi for twenty-five years; but, at the end of fourteen, they were very glad to resign to the King in their turn. During these years, the history of Louisiana is mostly a detail of quarrels with Spaniards, English, Choctaws, and Natchez; all which we have not room to write here,

* Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 170.

† Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 196, says, 1717; Du Pratz says, 1718

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even if we had the inclination. It may be found in the work of Du Pratz, who was an eminent man in the colony, from 1718 to 1734, or in the pages of Charlevoix. Passing by the battles and conspiracies of these times, and of the next nineteen years, we leave our imperfect sketch at the middle of the century, as then began a new era, the struggle of the French and British for the region beyond the Alleghanies.

In 1749, there were no other French settlements in the West, than those upon the Illinois, already referred to; that at New Orleans, including its various dependences, where, according to Vivier, were twelve hundred persons; and some small posts among the Arkansas and Alibamons.

In closing, we cannot but express a hope, that some of our Historical Societies will reprint from Thevenot the original French *Journal* of Marquette, from the Paris edition of 1683 (if it can be had); Hennepin's *Louisiana;* Joutel's *Journal*, (from the French if it can be found, if not, from the English); the most interesting of the *Lettres Edifiantes* relating to the West; and any other valuable original accounts now extant; — together with lithographic fac-similes of the map of 1656; of that of 1660, in Du Creux's work on Canada (*Hist. Canadensis, a* P. F. Creuxio; Paris, 1664); of Marquette's; of Hennepin's, of 1683; of Joutel's; of Coxe's, and Charlevoix's. We would also suggest the appointment of committees to examine and report upon works of doubtful authenticity, such as Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Tonti's *Journal*, and La Hontan's *Account of the Long River;* thus placing, in an accessible and permanent form, what, in our pages, must soon pass out of view, even supposing our researches and hints to be of value to the historical reader.

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ART. III. — *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por Mar los Españoles desde fines de Siglo XV., con varios Documentos inéditos concernientes á la Historia de la Marina Castellana y de los Establecimientos Españoles en Indias, coordinada é ilustrada* por Don MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Caballero de la Orden de San Juan, &c. Tom. I. — VI. Madrid. 1825 – 1837. 8vo.

WE rejoice to perceive, that, notwithstanding the disastrous civil war raging in Spain, this great national work is still carried on by its learned author, and we earnestly hope it may not fail of completion.* The fifth and sixth volumes relate to Spanish voyages in the Pacific, ending with that of Loaysa. We avail ourselves of the occasion to do justice to the character of Spain, in a matter deeply important to the United States.

There is no European government, which, in its relations with other civilized powers, either in Europe or America, is so loud in its professions of disinterestedness and moderation, as that of Great Britain. For twenty years, it persevered in a war of strenuous hostility against Napoleon, because he was a conqueror, and therefore dangerous to the peace and liberty of nations. Even if Napoleon carried his arms into Egypt, and away from the territory and states of Europe, still England relentlessly pursued him thither. Nay, when France had run her race, and had been thoroughly beaten and humbled by the coalesced arms of all Europe; when she had ceased to be an object of dread or suspicion to surrounding powers; and when, at such a period, she proceeded to inflict punishment, well deserved and too long delayed, on the piratical state of Algiers, and that insignificant country fell into her power by the just right of war; — Great Britain undertook to demand of her that she should abstain from holding it, made it cause of sober diplomatic remonstrance, and indulged at home in the most extravagant complaints against her, because she had presumed to make a single petty conquest in Africa. And, whenever Russia has happened to engage in war with Turkey, or any of the lesser

* For notices of the first two volumes, see *North American Review*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 484 *et seq.*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 265 *et seq.*

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states around the Black Sea, the English press and the English Parliament have been thrown into a perfect ecstasy of horror at the ambitious and encroaching spirit, which (they allege) animates the councils of the Czar.

Meanwhile, in the midst of all these *professions*, what has been the actual conduct of Great Britain? That government has, for more than half a century, pursued a career of conquest by force of arms, on a scale of magnificence unparalleled in the history of modern nations, and scarcely surpassed by the Roman Republic. To be satisfied of this, and without reckoning the colonial establishments she has formed in the new continent of Australia, and which she has scattered all over the globe in other countries considered barbarous, like the coasts of Africa and America, and the islands of the Indian, Pacific, and Atlantic seas, — without reckoning these, which alone constitute a vast empire in extent and resources, — to be satisfied of the ambitious career of Great Britain, we have only to advert to the fact, that, within the one hundred years last past, she has got possession of Malta and the Ionian Islands in Europe, of the Cape of Good Hope, covering a great part of Southern Africa, and of numerous kingdoms and nations in Asia, containing a population of about *one hundred and thirty million* inhabitants. That is to say, during the period assumed, she has made conquests at the average rate of *a million and a half of souls per annum*; all these conquests, moreover, having been mere money-getting speculations of trade.

We do not complain of this. We only state the fact. Whether it be right and just for Great Britain, or any other power, to subjugate half the world by unprovoked war; whether it be consistent and honorable to be for ever preaching abstinence, and liberality, and beneficence, and good faith in Europe, and to be for ever practising the reverse of all this in Asia; are questions we leave to the unbiassed judgment of mankind. We do not discuss them here. Nor, though Great Britain should proceed to consummate the enterprise, which it is said she has just now entered upon, of invading and dismembering Persia; though she should make her way into China, as she did into India, by asking space of land for a trading factory, and taking a great empire to supply it, — by pretending commerce, and pursuing conquest; and though, by the same combination of proved and confessed fraud and force, by which she has gained one hundred and

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thirty million subjects in the latter, she should gain other one hundred and thirty millions in the former; even then, we do not know that the United States have any lawful ground of umbrage at the continued march of her dominion. But we have good cause to complain, — it is our right and our duty, — when the same system of universal aggrandizement is carried by her into the affairs of North America. The mischief is then brought home to our own doors, and it behoves us to look to it.

We make these remarks in no unfriendly spirit towards Great Britain, but simply for the sake of our own national rights, in the defence of which we mean that this Journal shall continue to speak out plainly and fearlessly, as it always has done; believing that nothing is gained to the cause of peace by the timid suppression of the truth.

During the whole time which has elapsed since the restoration of peaceful and (to both parties) beneficial relations between Great Britain and this country, that government has been insensibly and quietly obtaining the wrongful possession of extensive portions of the United States, namely, a part of the State of Maine, and the wide territory of Oregon. We do not propose, at the present time, to enter into a discussion of our rights in this matter. We have done this already in previous volumes; and, in regard to one of the questions at least, — the northeastern boundary, — in very ample detail. Moreover, the recent discussions in Congress of the latter question, and the unanimous resolutions of both Houses, affirming the rights of the United States, have rendered it the less necessary. And, in regard to the other, — the northwestern boundary, — our object at present is, not to go over that either, but only to investigate a single one of the important points involved in it, and that rather an incidental point.

This great question, also, has recently been called up in Congress, and our readers may rest assured, that it will not be suffered to go to sleep there. Our title, it is sufficient for the purpose now to observe, is founded partly on our rights by discovery, exploration, and possession. But we have other sources of title, and, more especially, the right under the Florida Treaty; by which, in consideration (among other things) of our cession to Spain of our pretensions west of the River Sabine, Spain ceded to us all her pretensions north of the forty-second parallel of latitude. We propose

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to show that, independently of our own intrinsic rights, and so far as discovery or exploration could confer rights on any other power, that power was *Spain*, to the exclusion of Great Britain.

It has been the policy of Great Britain to depreciate the rights of Spain in this respect. That was natural, and in the ordinary course of things, for the government to do. But the injustice of the government of Great Britain towards that of Spain, in this thing, has entered into and poisoned the literature of Great Britain. Her geographers have extensively pursued the system of suppressing the names given to capes, rivers, and inlets, on the northwestern coast of America, by early Spanish navigators, and substituting the names given to the same localities by later English navigators; so that the maps convey the false implication of prior discovery on the part of the latter nation. Nor is this all. There is, in many of the English books of geography, a practice of dwelling at much length on the English voyages, and either touching slightly, or wholly omitting, those performed under the authority of Spain.

We have a most notable instance of this now before us, in a popular work, entitled "Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions," by Professor Leslie, Professor Jameson, and Hugh Murray, Esquire, of Edinburgh; names which ought to be a warranty for the truth, and the whole truth. This book, the historical part of which was written by Mr. Murray, contains the following paragraph;

"Spain, which had made the discovery of America, and from that success derived so much glory and wealth, might have been expected to take a peculiar interest in every thing connected with its farther exploration. The fact, however, appears to be, that, revelling among the rich plains and glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru, she felt little attraction towards the bleak confines of the northern pole. Only one very early voyage is mentioned, that, namely, by Gomez, with a view of discovering a shorter passage to the Molucas. He is said to have brought home a few of the natives; but no record is preserved, either of the events which attended his enterprise, or even of the coast on which he arrived. There remains of it, as has been observed, only a jest, and one so indifferent as not to be worth repeating. The chief exertions of Spain for a passage, were made from Mexico along the northwest coast of America; but these we do not propose to include in the present narrative."

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Is it just, in a book purporting to give a *general* account of discovery in the northwestern seas of America, thus to slur over the voyages of other nations? Is it consistent with *common honesty?* "The chief exertions of Spain were made from Mexico along the northwest coast of America; but these we do not propose to include in the present narrative." And why not? The next sentence tells. "Britain," it says, "now took up this train of discovery, and made it almost exclusively her own." What? have Russia and Spain done nothing to explore the northwest coast? France nothing? The United States nothing? It would seem so, according to this book; for Russia, important as her northwestern voyages have been, is treated by Mr. Murray still *more cavalierly than Spain.* To be sure, the Preface apologizes for the omission to give "an account of the expeditions performed *by land or in boats*, to ascertain the northern boundaries of America and Asia;" but this explanation cannot apply to the great nautical explorations of Russia and Spain. Well might this copartnership of authors say of the Spanish voyagers from Mexico, "These we do not propose to include in the present narrative;" for, if they had been included, they would have proved, that instead of Britain having "made it almost exclusively her own," Spain and Russia had done as much at least in this respect as Great Britain.

But then what shall we say to the solemn and circumstantial statement, that Spain furnishes only one very early voyage (that of Gomez) to the northern seas? Was this ignorance? It must have been. Yet, as authentic accounts existed, and those very curious and interesting ones, of *several* early Spanish voyages, the total ignorance exhibited in this particular, is not less remarkable than the bad faith betrayed in the other. And this is history, the history of American affairs, by British writers! There is another popular modern work, the "History of Maritime and Inland Discovery," in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," wherein we shall have occasion, by and by, to signalize the same kind of suppression in regard to the enterprises of other nations, while every English expedition of the least note, national, commercial, or piratical, is described with edifying particularity. They are no unapt examples of the political tendency of that modern

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English literature, which constitutes the chief reading of the people of the United States.

In addition to the great mistake, or misrepresentation, pervading the passage cited, which will appear from the narrative we shall presently give, it contains others, of less importance, but of the same complexion.

The first sentence implies a volume of untruth, namely, that Spain took no particular interest in the general exploration of America. The reverse is the fact. All our most familiar histories, as the writings of Robertson, Irving, and Southey, abound with details of the extraordinary daring, perseverance, and disregard of hardship and personal suffering, with which the Spaniards pursued the exploration of the coasts, mountains, rivers, and interior wilds of the entire continent of South America, in the period immediately following its discovery. These incidents are now incorporated in the popular literature of all Europe ; and not to know them, argues a singular ignorance of American history and geography. Nor, in later times, has the government of Spain been neglectful of such objects. The treasures of the Depósito Hidrográfico, at Madrid, as we ourselves know from personal examination, may well compare with what even modern France or England has done of this kind ; and quite put to shame the as yet imperfect efforts of the United States in the same line. It is true, Spain did not, in the middle period of her empire over the New World, make *ostentation* of the voyages or journeys of exploration in South America, undertaken by her people. The accounts of many of these remained unpublished in the archives of the government. The reason of this is obvious. The piratical expeditions of other European powers, and especially of England, against the settlements in the Spanish colonies, — expeditions in all respects resembling the ravages of the old Danes and Normans along the coasts of Holland, England, and France, — these enterprises, in connexion with the contraband trade of the same nations, and their continual attempts to wrest from Spain her colonies by force, compelled her to adopt a policy of reserve and partial concealment, in regard to her possessions in America. But there is an end of all this, since the separation of those colonies from the mother country ; and Professor Leslie and his associates could have known this, if they had sought the knowledge in the proper quarter.

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As to North America, the case is still stronger. We reserve the Pacific side of it for detailed explanation; and it will then be seen, whether "the glittering treasures of Mexico and Peru" withdrew the attention of Spain from "the bleak confines of the northern pole." But neither did Spain neglect the Atlantic side of North America. To say nothing of minor expeditions into the interior of the United States, it is sufficient to indicate the remarkable one of Hernando de Soto, who spent several years at the head of an army, exploring the whole of the vast region now occupied by the Southern States.* Spain, however, could not supply men to colonize the entire New World at once; in the progress of events, the northeastern parts of it fell into the hands of England and France; and of course these two nations were more naturally impelled to explore the coasts of their own possessions. But Spain had her share in the earlier discoveries. Forster even suggests whether the Biscayans, in common with the Bretons, had not visited Newfoundland prior to the voyage of Columbus.† But Navarrete, with his accustomed candor, after careful inquiry into this point, comes to the conclusion, that such is not the fact; and that the resort of the Biscayans to the Grand Bank, dates only from the voyage of Esteban Gomez.‡

England has the honor of projecting and conducting the voyages, in which the Cabots discovered and explored the northeastern coast of America. Their discoveries immediately attracted the notice of Spain; and Navarrete supposes that the enterprise contemplated by Juan Dorvelos, under the protection of the Catholic Kings, in 1500, had for its object to follow the track of the Cabots.§ Certain it is, that a contract was made by Ferdinand with Juan de Agramonte, a Catalan, in the year 1511, for a voyage of discovery to Newfoundland; though what came of this is unknown.‖ But the expedition of Esteban Gomez, also undertaken by the government, and for the express object of discovering a northwest passage to the Pacific, in 1525, is described by Herrera and Gomara; and, as he explored the entire Atlantic coast of North America, it hardly de-

* Garcilaso de la Vega, *Florida.*
† *Northern Voyages,* Book III. chap. iii. and v.
‡ *Viages,* Tom. III. p. 176.
§ Ibid. Tom. III. p. 41.
‖ Ibid. Tom. III. p. 42.

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serves to be summarily dismissed, in the manner Purchas treats it, and after him Professor Leslie and his associates, as memorable only for a jest. Purchas tells the story in these words ;

"Of Stephen Gomez little is left but a *jeast.* This Gomez having been with Magellan, a few years before, in his discoverie of the South Sea, enlarged with hopes of new straits, in the yeare 1525 set forth to search this northerly passage. But finding nothing to his expectation, he laded his shippe with slaves, and returned. At his returne, one that knew his intent was for the Moluccas by that way, enquiring what he had brought home, was told *esclavos*, that is, slaves. He, forestalled with his owne imagination, had thought it was *clavos*, and so posted to the court to carrie first newes of this specie discoverie, looking for a great reward. But the truth being knowne caused hereat great laughter."—*Pilgrims*, 620.

But we must hasten to our main object. The conquerors of Mexico were very far from being disposed to revel among its rich plains, to the neglect of the northwestern region of America. On the contrary, their expeditions by sea and land in that direction were numerous ; and the Great Conqueror himself set the example by undertaking several of the earliest of these at his own charge, and conducting one of them in person. The Emperor had exhorted him to explore the northern seas in search of "the secrete" of a strait, which should abridge the voyage from Spain to the East Indies. Unquiet and ambitious in temper, and disgusted with the spectacle of inferior persons administering the rich realms which his courage and skill had conquered, Cortes willingly engaged in the new enterprise of extending the Spanish power into other and (as yet) unexplored regions, and perhaps of solving the long-studied problem of a direct passage by the north to Cathay. He fitted out, first, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza ; then, Diego de Becerra and Hernando de Grijalva.* In one of these voyages, Cortes, through Hernando de Grijalva, his lieutenant, discovered California, in 1534. In another, Cortes himself, and in defiance of infinite hardships, and obstacles without number, explored the Gulf of California.† Returning in safety, after

* Gomara, *Con. de Mex.*, fol. 116; Herrera, *Hist. de las Ind.*, Dec. IV. and V.

† Gomara, fol. 117.

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the general belief in Mexico that he had perished, he continued the progress of discovery,* by fitting out Francisco de Ulloa in the same direction. These voyages, of which the common books, such as Herrera and Robertson, give an account, were munificently carried on by Cortes, at an expense of two hundred thousand ducats, out of his own private property. The discoveries thus made would alone have sufficed to immortalize any meaner man than Cortes ; but the fame of them is comparatively lost in the splendor of his other great achievements. He thus led the way to the eventual settlement of California by the Spaniards, and to subsequent voyages of discovery along the northwestern coast of America.

At this period, the northwestern expeditions of the Mexican Spaniards began to be animated by very peculiar inducements. We have already seen, that they hoped to find a northern passage to connect the two oceans. In addition to which, a travelling monk, Fray Marcos de Nizza, had propagated the idea, that to the north of California, there was a magnificent city called Cibola, of great population, and equal in riches and civilization to Mexico. The particulars of Nizza's story are contained in Ramusio † and in Hakluyt.‡ Humboldt conjectures, that these fables may have had relation to the extensive ruins of an old Aztec city, existing on the banks of the river Gila, in Sonora.§ Associated with, or succeeding to, this story of the wonders of Cibola, there was another, which combined the two ideas, of a northwestern passage, and of a great city upon its waters. It is briefly related by Torquemada, as follows ;

" His Majesty (Philip the Third) found among certain other papers the information, which certain foreigners had given to his father, in which are told some notable things, which they had seen in that land (the northwest coast), driven thither by stress of weather, in a vessel from the coast of Labrador, which is by Newfoundland ; giving account therein of how they had passed from the North to the South Sea, by the Strait of Anian, which is beyond Cape Mendocino ; and that they had seen a populous and rich city, well fortified and walled, and very rich in people, politic and court-like, and well-treated ; and other

* Herrera, Dec. VII.
† Tom. III. p 356.
‡ Vol. III. p. 366.
§ *Nouv. Esp.*, Tom. I. pp. 287, 310.

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things, worthy to be known and seen. For these and many other causes, he commanded the Conde de Monte-Rey, Vice-Roy of New Spain, that the said discovery should be made with all care and despatch, at the King's charge." — *Monarq. Ind.*, Lib. V. c. 45.

Torquemada then proceeds to describe at length the important expedition of Sebastian Vizcaino, hereafter referred to, and afterwards adds ;

"There is reason to suppose, that this river" (speaking of the river of Martin de Aguilar, hereafter described) "is that which leads to a great city, discovered by some Hollanders, driven out of their course ; and that this is the Strait of Anian, by which the vessel, which discovered it, penetrated and passed from the North Sea to the South Sea ; and that, undoubtedly, in this region or vicinity is the said city, called of *Quivira ;* and of this situation or place it is of which treats the relation which his Majesty read ; by which he was moved, and induced to command, that with much care this discovery should be made, and sure advice given him of the whole." — *Monarq. Ind.*, Lib. V. c. 55.

There occurs considerable difference of opinion in the books, as to the true origin and signification of the expression *Strait of Anian.* It is used, all agree, to designate a northwestern passage, real or supposed, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But who was the first to use or apply the name ? Did it originate in mere fable and misconception, like the idea of the cities of Cibola and Quivira ? Or was it in the outset the name of Behring's Strait, whose place it occupied in the maps for a century or two ? Or that of Hudson's Bay ? These points are involved in some obscurity. Humboldt says, it was the appellation given to the opening now called Hudson's Bay, after the name of one of two brothers, who embarked in Gaspar de Cortereal's Portuguese expedition to Labrador, in 1500.* The London Quarterly Review, on the other hand, conceives, that when Gaspar de Cortereal entered Hudson's Bay, he supposed it to be the continuation of an opening on the Pacific side of North America, already known as the Strait of Anian.† And this is the more probable view of the subject, because, in the old charts of the sixteenth century, *Anian* is a *country* at the northwestern angle of North America.‡ Whatever the fact as to that matter, the other

* *Nouv. Esp.* Vol. I. p. 330. † *Quarterly Review*, No. XVI. p. 154.
‡ Burney's *Voyages*, Vol. I. p. 5.

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point is certain, that this expression came to denote the long talked-of direct route from Europe to China, which it was the anxious object of the Mexican Spaniards to discover.

Nor was this all. In Peru, the opinion prevailed for many years, that, in the heart of South America, between Peru and Brazil, there was a rich and powerful empire, called Paitaiti, to which the Incas retired with immense treasures, after their overthrow by Pizarro and his companions. Among the old Spaniards, Juan de Salinas and Pedro de Ursua distinguished themselves in the search after this new empire of the Incas; and it was the object of the expedition of Benito de Ribera y Quiroga, so late as the reign of Charles the Second (of Spain). This gentleman, says one author (Feijoo), after squandering a great estate, and toiling three years, returned, bringing with him a thing much more precious than the gold he sought, though less esteemed in the world, to wit, *el desengaño*. North of the fabulous Paitaiti, was the equally fabulous land of El Dorado, which Father Acosta speaks of, in 1590, as if there were no doubt of its existence.* The schemes and adventures of the gallant and misused Sir Walter Raleigh have rendered the name of this imaginary country a proverb for such delusions. South of Paitaiti again, there was a third of these regions of abounding wealth, with house-tiles and plough-shares of solid gold, called the city of the Cæsars. And superstitions of precisely the same kind were current in Mexico, with regard to the interior regions of North America. The belief was, that after the victories of Cortes had prostrated the Mexican empire, Tatarrax, a brave prince of the royal family of Montezuma, retired from the ruins of his country, with a proud band of followers, who disdained to bow the neck to foreign conquerors; that they carried with them the treasures of Montezuma; and that they founded a new and flourishing empire on the Lake Teguayo, by the name of Quivira, or, as the Spaniards usually call it, *La gran Quivira*. † And there was the more of plausibility in this story, inasmuch as the monarch race in Mexico, the Aztecs, were declared by themselves, and universally believed, to have descended on the plains of Anahuac, from the far northwestern parts of America. ‡ And to the old Spaniards, who had fallen as it were by chance upon the opulent

* *Hist. Nat.* Lib. II. c. 6. † Feijoo, *Teat. Crit.* Tom. IV. Disc. 10, s. 12 – 15.
‡ *Compagnoni*, Tom. VI.

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states of Peru, Bogotá, and Mexico, when they reflected on the immense extent of those interior parts of the New World of which they knew so little, there seemed nothing improbable in the idea of other communities as populous and as rich as those they had already discovered and conquered. It was an age of marvels to any but them; and the events, in which they had figured, were so extraordinary, that there had ceased to be a fixed standard of the credible either in discovery or in achievement. All that was most improbable in fact, or most romantic in fiction, had become the sober truth of their own personal experience. After Hernan Cortes, or Francisco Pizarro, or Gonzalo de Quesada, at the head of a handful of adventurers, had subdued great empires, and amassed vast treasures of pillage, what might not be dreamed of the unexplored regions of that New World, which the genius of Columbus had made known? It might be said of them, as the common saying is of the people of La Mancha, that the most exhilarating wine was the water of their daily intellectual life. Hence the boldness and the unshrinking resoluteness of their expeditions of discovery and conquest. Hence, also, the chimerical nature of some of their undertakings; there being exhibited in the pursuit of Ponce de Leon's fountain of Bimini, pouring forth its waters of immortality, or in the exploration of the lost empires of Paitaiti and Quivira, the same intoxicated ardor, which had transferred to Spain the sceptres of Montezuma and of Manco-Capac.

These illusory expectations of the Spaniards, in regard to the great cities of Cibola and Quivira, were dispelled in time, by ample exploration of New Mexico and California. With what indefatigable perseverance the Spaniards pursued these enterprises, an opinion may be formed from the fact, that, in 1537, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca made his appearance on the coast of Caliacan, in the Gulf of California, with two of his companions, remnants of the expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, having landed in Florida, and forced their way across the whole breadth of the continent through such immense waters, woods, and deserts, and so many savage tribes of Indians.

Nor was the government idle in this matter. Emulous of the efforts of Cortes, his successor, the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, fitted out several expeditions by sea and land, the memory of which still remains in the name of Cape Mendocino, derived from him. In 1540, he sent Hernando de

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Alarcon by sea, and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado by land, in search of Marcos de Nizza's great city of Cibola, and three realms of Marata, Aacus, and Tontoteac.* In this expedition, Coronado found abundance of privations and perils, which he bravely struggled through;† but he ascertained conclusively by his researches, that the twenty thousand high-terraced stone houses of Cibola, with its white inhabitants, well clothed in cotton garments, and dressed furs, richly ornamented with emeralds and turquoises, and their gems circulating as money, existed only in the imagination of Friar Nizza.‡

Without pausing any longer on the Spanish land expeditions in California and New Mexico, we proceed to their voyages along the coast; among which, next after the surveys of Cortes, those of Cabrillo and Gali are the most important in the order of time.

Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo explored the outer coast of California, as far as 37° 10′ N. with great care. He died on the island of San Bernardo, in 1543; but his pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, continued his discoveries on the coast to Cape Blanco, in 43° N.§ Burney is of opinion, that Cabrillo gave its name to Cape Mendocino.‖

Spain having, some time before this, formed settlements in the Philippine Islands, there naturally grew up a direct intercourse between Manila and Acapulco. In sailing from Macao to Acapulco, in 1582, Francisco Gali visited the northwest coast as high up as 57° 30′, his description of that region being of manifest veracity and accuracy. At least, such is the representation of Humboldt¶ and of Navarrete;** though Burney makes some citations from a Dutch author, Linschoten, which lead him to the conclusion, that Gali went no farther than 37° 50′ N.††

We pass over the mere hearsay accounts of the supposed discoveries of the Spaniard, Andres de Urdaneta, in 1554, and of his countryman Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, in 1574; both which are described, but not admitted as genuine, by Navarrete.‡‡ The same of Martin Chack, the Portuguese, spoken of by Purchas.§§ We add, that the evidence concern-

* Herrera, Dec. VI.; Gomara, f. 116; Ramusio, Tom. III.
† Torquemada. ‡ Venegas, Cal. Pt. II. § Herrera, Dec. VII.
‖ *Voyages*, i. 224. ¶ *Nouv. Esp.* Lib. III.
** *Viage de la Sutil, int.* †† *Voyages*, Vol. V. p. 164,
‡‡ *Viage de la Subtil, int.* pp. 38, and 43. §§ Vol. III. bk. 4.

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ing these persons is fairly stated by Burney ; who, indeed, in contrast with the compilers referred to by us in other parts of this article, seems disposed to do all justice to the early Spanish navigators.*

Next come accounts of two voyages, which some have considered apocryphal, but one at least of which, if not both, we incline to rely upon as authentic.

Nicolas Antonio, a Spanish author of great credit, in his *Bibliotheca Hispana*,† says, that he had seen in the hands of the Bishop of Segovia, who was a member of the Council of the Indies, the manuscript narrative of a voyage, being the relation of the discovery of the *Strait of Anian*, in 1588, by a Spaniard of the name of Ferrer Maldonado. That there was in that period a skilful navigator and geographer of that name, is abundantly authenticated by various evidence. A general belief in such a voyage seems to have obtained among the Spaniards ; for, in 1789, it was particularly referred to as one of the inducements of Malaspina's expedition, hereafter described ; at which time Maldonado's journal existed in the library of the Duque del Infantado, who furnished a copy of it to Malaspina. In 1812, Amoretti, an Italian scholar, published a manuscript, found by him among the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which he was librarian, purporting to be Maldonado's account of his voyage. The London Quarterly Review, after a very critical discussion of the question, comes to the conclusion, from internal proofs, that the manuscript, which Amoretti found and published, was a fabrication of some old writer. We will not quarrel with this conclusion ; the rather, since the Review also pronounces, that, though the particular manuscript was false, yet substantially such a voyage did actually take place.‡ That is to say, we have the best of English authority for the belief, that, so early as 1588, in addition to Gali, the Spanish navigator Maldonado had proceeded north to what is now called Behring's Strait.

There is no doubt, that many other vessels visited the coast in the same way, whilst bound from Manila and Macao to Acapulco. One of these, we know, the San Agustin, entered the bay of San Francisco in 1595, and was there wrecked.§

We have good English authority for believing another important fact, and that is, the truth of the alleged discovery of

* *Voyages*, Vol. II.
† Tom. II. p. 2.
‡ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI.
§ Torquemada, Lib. V. c. 55.

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the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in 1599, by a Greek pilot of that name, in the service of Spain.

The only printed account of this voyage is contained in Purchas, who gives it, as he received it, from Mr. Michael Lok, English consul at Aleppo. It being important and curious, we extract the chief part of it, as follows.

"A note made by me, Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called *Fretum Anian*, in the South Sea, through the North-west passage of *Meta incognita*.

"When I was at Venice, in April, 1596, happily arriued there an old man, about threescore yeares of age, called commonly Iuan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of Nation a Greeke, borne in the Iland Cefalonia, of profession a Mariner; and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of Spaine, arriued first at Ligorno, and went thence to Florence in Italie, where he found one Iohn Dowglas, an Englishman, a famous Mariner, ready comming for Venice, to be Pilot of a Venetian Ship, named Ragasona for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And Iohn Dowglas being well acquainted with me before, he gaue me knowledge of this Greeke Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long talke and conference betweene vs, in presence of Iohn Dowglas: this Greeke Pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

"First he said, that he had bin in the West Indies of Spaine by the space of fortie yeers, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the seruice of the Spaniards.

"Also he said, that he was in the Spanish Shippe, which in returning from the Ilands, Philippinas and China, towards Noua Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California, by Captaine Candish, Englishman, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets of his owne goods.

"Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships, which the Vizeroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, vnder a Captain, Spaniards, to discouer the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodomie of their Captaine, that voyage was ouerthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from California coast to Noua Spania, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Captaine was at Mexico punished by iustice.

"Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill

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ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico, sent him out againe Anno 1592, with a small Carauela, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discouery of the same Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Noua Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seuen degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still some time North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon.

"Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Siluer, Pearle, and other things, like Noua Spania.

"And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough euery where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Saluage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards Noua Spania, where hee arriued at Acapulco, Anno 1592. hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this seruice done in this said Voyage.

"Also he said, that after his comming to Mexico, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that hauing sued there two yeares time, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in Spaine of the King himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into Spaine, which Voyage hee did performe.

"Also he said, that when he was come into Spaine, he was greatly welcommed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the Spanish manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And

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that therefore at the length he stole away out of Spaine, and came into Italie, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countrimen, he being very old.

"Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to bee for that they did vnderstand very well, that the English Nation had now giuen ouer all their voyages for discouerie of the North-west passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his seruice therein any more.

"Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the Spaniards, and vnderstanding of the noble minde of the Queene of England, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Maiestie would doe him iustice for his goods lost by Captaine Candish, he would bee content to goe into England, and serue her Maiestie in that voyage for the discouerie perfectly of the North-west passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Maiesties hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into England.

"And vpon this conference had twise with the said Greeke Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into England vnto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecill, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greeke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not readie, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said Greeke Pilot perchance liueth still this day at home in his owne Countrie in Cefalonia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice."—Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. III. p. 849--851.

This account was for a long time doubted, or discredited, owing to want of knowledge of the facts. But the researches of Gray, Meares, Vancouver, Malaspina, and others, having shown that there is a broad strait in the place indicated by Juan de Fuca, answering in all essential particulars to his description; and the description being so exact as to negative altogether the supposition of its having been fabri-

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cated, or derived from any other source than actual observation, the general sense of modern geographers has admitted the claim of the Greek pilot to the honor of the discovery of the Strait, and has bestowed upon it his name, which it now universally bears. To this effect is the valuable testimony of Vancouver,* of Burney,† of M. de Fleurieu,‡ and of the Quarterly Review.§ And the Review suggests a remarkable confirmation of the story of the old Greek pilot. Juan de Fuca speaks of being plundered by an English cruiser, commanded by one *Candish;* and Sir Thomas Cavendish (pronounced *Candish*) relates, that he found a Greek pilot in one of the Spanish ships, which he robbed in the Pacific. For the rest, though Lok's narrative contains some errors or exaggerations, they are no greater than occur in many (perhaps most) of the old voyages, and are no impeachment of the general credibility of the story.

Next to this comes the voyage of Sebastian Vizcaino, one of the most interesting and best conducted in the annals of navigation. Vizcaino was a man of great ability and experience, and of considerable personal distinction. In 1594, he commanded an important expedition in California, the conquest and settlement of which had been confided to his care. When the interests of the Manila commerce, which required a post of refuge in California, and the general desire to understand the nature of the shores of that country, caused the further exploration of the northwest coast to be undertaken by Philip the Third, the Conde de Monterey being Viceroy of Mexico, as stated in the extract given by us from Torquemada, the Viceroy selected Vizcaino for this service. The fleet, of which he was captain-general, consisted of three large vessels, the *San-Diego*, *Santo-Tomas*, and *Tres-Reyes*, with picked crews of seamen, and soldiers, commanded by officers of merit and reputation, including Torribio Gomez, as admiral, and Geronymo Martin, as cosmographer. Of this expedition a very full and authentic account exists in numerous original documents, an abridgment of which is to be found in Torquemada. In addition to which, are thirty-two original maps of the countries explored by the expedition, drawn up by Enrico Martinez, and vouched by Humboldt, as surpassing all previous works of that kind in accuracy and skill of con-

* Vol. I. p. 215. † Vol. II. p. 110. ‡ *Voyage de Marchand, int.*
§ Vol. XVI. p. 159.

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struction. The fleet set sail from Acapulco, the 2nd of May, 1602, and arrived there on its return, the 21st of March, 1603. Vizcaino, himself, proceeded north only so far as Cape S. Sebastian, in lat. 42°, and north of Trinidad Bay. But one of his ships, the frigate *Tres-Reyes*, conducted by Antonio Flores, as pilot, and commanded by Martin de Aguilar, went on further, to lat. 43°, and, on the 19th of January, 1603, reached the mouth of a deep river, often called in the books after the name of Aguilar, being the same which is now called Rouge Clamet, or McLeod's River. There is some reason to suppose this river may have been visited by Cabrillo, in 1543. The discovery of it, unless made by Cabrillo, unquestionably belongs to Martin de Aguilar. It was the ultimate point of Vizcaino's expedition, which then returned to Acapulco.

Owing to the prejudice of the English writers, and their neglect of the old Spanish literature, great injustice has been done by them to Vizcaino, a man of the highest merit, and to his lieutenant, Aguilar. For instance, Lardner's "History of Maritime Discovery," speaks thus;

"*It is said*, that one of Vizcaino's captains in this expedition, named Martin de Aguilar, being separated from the squadron by the violence of the winds, succeeded in doubling Cape Mendocino, which, till then, had been only seen from a distance. Thirty leagues further to the north, he discovered a second Cape, or Point, to which he gave the name of Cape Blanco. Beyond this, the coast declined to the eastward; and here he discovered a broad and navigable inlet, which he supposed to be the mouth of a great river, leading to the celebrated city called Quivira. Recent researches have found no traces of the celebrated city of Quivira; and had Aguilar pretended to have himself seen it, the truth of his relation might be justly suspected. But the fictions, which pervade his account, can be easily explained from the opinions of his age." — Vol. II. p. 221.

Here is a strange tissue of mixed truth and error. "*It is said*, that one of Vizcaino's captains!" Why, *It is said?* — It is known. If the writer could not read Torquemada and the other Spanish authorities, there was Humboldt's New Spain to satisfy him of the true state of the facts. Aguilar was not the first navigator who doubled Cape Mendocino. There are no "fictions" in his account. He (Aguilar) does not pretend or say any thing about the city of Quivira, or the Strait

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of Anian. It is *Torquemada*, who, after giving an account of what Aguilar actually did see, proceeds to *conjecture*, that it may be the entrance of the Strait of Anian, with its city of Quivira. Then again, as to the coast declining to the "eastward," and the "inlet," — there is nothing of this in the original account. Torquemada's words are;

"A diez y nueve de Enero, se hallò el piloto Antonio Flores, que iba en la fragata, en altura de quarenta y tres grados, donde la tierra hace un cabo ò punta, que se llamò Cabo Blanco; desde el qual comienza la costa à correrse al *Norueste* (northwestward, not *east*ward); y junto à èl se hallò un rio muy caudaloso, y hondable, que por las orillas de èl havia muy grandes fresnos, sauces, zarzas, y otros arboles de Castilla; y queriendo entrar por èl, las corrientes no dieron lugar à ello."

Not a word of an inlet is here, but a simple and true description of the river, which is well known to exist at the designated point. Or, as the editor of Venegas remarks; "It is worthy of notice, that what these Spaniards found, or saw, was not an inlet, strait, or arm of the sea, but only a river. The residue, which is afterwards added, about the Strait of Anian, &c., it is obvious, is mere conjecture of Torquemada, without any foundation." *

Thus much in justice to the memory of Sebastian Vizcaino and Martin de Aguilar. After their time, for a long series of years, the northwest coast was left unexplored by Spain; for we do not rely on the story of De Fonte's voyage, in 1640, as authentic. And the reason of the cessation of the efforts of Spain is to be sought for, not in her neglect of navigation, but in the necessary change of her policy. She had ceased to desire the existence of a northwest passage from Europe to the Pacific; because, though such a passage might in some respects be useful to her, it would be greatly more injurious to her in other respects, inasmuch as it would bring down upon her possessions in the Pacific and Indian seas the piratical cruisers of the northern nations of Europe. If the reader will call to mind the feverish apprehensions of Great Britain, at the present time, in regard to the practicability of access to Hindostan from Russia through Persia, — the anxiety of Britain, not to *dis*cover, but to *cover up*, the possibility of such access, — he will then com-

* Tom. III. p. 116.

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prehend the policy, which actuated the Spanish government in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in reference to a northern route from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the exploration of the northwestern coast of America. The Spaniards did not wish to see the coast of Mexico swarming with English privateers, capturing their treasure-ships, and plundering their maritime towns and settlements. The expeditions of Drake and Cavendish had shown, that the circuit of Cape Horn did not furnish to Spain a complete security for her remote possessions in the Pacific. Still more alarming would have been their insecurity, if accessible by a ready passage from Hudson's Bay.

We have alluded to the supposititious voyage called De Fonte's; and we proceed to give an account of it, both as a curiosity in itself, and because it contains some things of particular interest.

There was published in London, in 1708, an anonymous periodical work, entitled "Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious." Two successive numbers of this publication contained a piece bearing the following caption;

"A Letter from Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte, the Admiral of New Spain and Peru, and now Prince of Chili; giving an Account of the most material Transactions in a Journal of his, from the Calo of Lima, in Perú, on his Discoveries to find out if there was any North West Passage from the Atlantic Ocean into the South and Tartarian Sea."

This piece appeared in English, without any explanation as to the source from whence it was obtained, or any apology for this omission. It attracted much attention, however, all over Europe; and was translated into several languages. It is republished in Burney's "Voyages," (Vol. III.) word for word, together with a brief notice of the controversy, as to its authenticity. Burney himself calls it "a geographical meteor," and adds, that, "notwithstanding the unauthenticated and unceremonious manner in which it was obtruded on the public, it has found able defenders. Among these the most conspicuous are MM. Joseph de l'Isle, of the French Academy of Sciences, and Philippe Buache, who, in 1750, presented to the Academy a translation of the letter, together with a map, exhibiting the supposed communication by water from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific.* On the other hand, re-

* *Hist. de l'Acad.* 1750, p. 152.

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spectable Spanish authors, such as the editors of Father Venegas's *California*, and of the *Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana*, affirm, that the public repositories in Spain and the Indies have been carefully searched, and that neither journal, copies of orders, nor any paper whatever relating to such a voyage, can be found.* Arguments both ways are founded, also, on the internal evidence of the document itself. Thus, to the objection that De Fonte is styled "*Prince* of Chili," it is replied, that an ignorant translator of a Spanish manuscript might easily mistake the abbreviation *Pr.* (President) for *Prince*. The exaggerations contained in it also go for nothing, as a mixture of the fabulous is very common in the most genuine of the old voyages. On the whole, Burney concludes thus;

"It may not be thought conceding too much to the letter from Admiral de Fonte to allow, (what indeed cannot be denied,) that at this time it is not determined, whether it is a rodomontade narrative of a real voyage, or an idle piece of invention, such as is attributed to Petiver. In either case, it has been an event of some celebrity in the history of geography. But De Fonte's voyage does not stand on ground so creditable as does the voyage of De Fuca, of which it may be supposed an imitation. The Spaniards have been charged, for it merits not to be called an accusation, with not publishing all the discoveries they have made in America and the Pacific Ocean. However this matter may be argued, it is not possible to those who read the relations of Juan de Fuca and Bartholomew de Fonte, and compare them with the modern charts, not to imagine that Spain did obtain more acquaintance with the northwest parts of America, than it was thought necessary by her to impart to the rest of the world."

A circumstance which has served to gain some credence for this voyage, is, that Witsen, in his "Nord en Oost Tartarye," speaks of a famous Portuguese seaman (vermaede Portuguesche zeeman), named *De Fonta*, who, in 1649, at the cost of the King of Spain, "visited the Tierra del Fuego and the Staten Island, and examined every creek." This work of Witsen's appeared in 1705, three years before the publication in the "Monthly Miscellany." So that there seems to have been such a person as De Fonte or De Fonta, distinguished as a discoverer; and this point, like that of Mal-

* Venegas, *Cal.* Tom. III. p. 352; *Viage de la Sutil*, &c. *Int.* p. 79.

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donado's and De Fuca's voyages, deserves to be more fully investigated by those who have leisure and opportunity (which we have not) for such investigations.

The letter purports, that De Fonte sailed along the Pacific coast of America from Chili, by Peru and Mexico, *into the Arctic sea*, where he met *a ship from Boston, commanded by a Captain Shapley*. It is described as follows;

"The 17th (July, 1640), we came to an Indian town, and the Indians told our interpreter, Mr. Parmentiers, that a little way from us lay a great ship where there had never been one before. We sailed to them, and found only one man advanced in years and a youth. The man was the greatest man in the mechanical parts of the mathematics I had ever met with. My second mate was an Englishman, an excellent seaman, as was my gunner, who had been taken prisoners at Campeachy, as well as the master's son. They told me the ship was of New England, from a town called Boston. The owner and the whole ship's company came on board the 30th, and the navigator of the ship, Captain Shapley, told me, his owner was a fine gentleman, and major-general of the largest colony in New England, called the Maltechusets. So I received him like a gentleman, and told him, my commission was to make prize of any people seeking a northwest or west passage into the South Sea; but I would look upon them as merchants trading with the natives for beavers, otters, and other furs and skins; and so for a small present of provisions I had no need of, I gave him my diamond ring, which cost me twelve hundred pieces of eight (which the modest gentleman received with difficulty); and having given the brave navigator, Captain Shapley, for his fine charts and journals, one thousand pieces of eight, and the owner of the ship, Seimor Gibbons, a quarter cask of good Peruan wine, and the ten seamen each twenty pieces of eight, the 6th of August, with as much wind as we could fly before, and a current, we arrived at the first fall of the river Parmentiers," &c.

The letter goes on to relate De Fonte's return to the Pacific, by the way he came. Without feeling any confidence in the genuineness of this letter, we yet think there is in it matter for investigation; such as the fact, that it gives a just account of the climate and the productions of the northwest, repeatedly speaking of the profusion of *salmon* in the rivers, which is really one of their most characteristic peculiarities. But we dwell upon the subject chiefly in the hope, that information may be thereby elicited in regard to the early

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voyages from New England, either to the region of Hudson's Bay, or to the northwest. Did any Massachusetts vessel, so early as the middle of the seventeenth century, find her way around Cape Horn to the northwest? Did any person named *Shapley* (or Shepley, or Shapleigh) make a commercial voyage at that period to Hudson's Bay? Knowing, as we do, the hardihood and enterprise which have in all times distinguished the maritime population of New England, we should greatly rejoice to see some of their old adventures redeemed from oblivion. That they were familiar with the Labrador seas at a very early period, is perfectly notorious; and of this a curious memorial exists, in one of the old voyages of discovery. For, at about the same period with De Fonte's alleged voyage, M. de Groseiller was despatched from Quebec, for the purpose of discovery in Hudson's Bay; and, landing near Nelson's River, he found six persons in a wretched hut, half famished, part of the crew of a ship from Boston, which had been driven to sea by the ice, while they were on shore, and never returned.*

Without relying, then, upon De Fonte's Letter, and giving away even the voyage of Maldonado, it will be perceived that we have authentic proofs, that Cabrillo (or Ferrelo) had explored to latitude 43° in 1543; that Gali was at 37° 30′, if not at 57° 30′, in 1582; that the San Agustin was at the Bay of San Francisco, in 1595; that Juan de Fuca entered the strait now bearing his name in 1599; and that, in 1602, Vizcaino (that is, Martin de Aguilar,) surveyed the coast of California, as far up as the river of Aguilar. Beside which, the outer coast of California was explored immediately after the conquest, by the orders of Cortes and of Mendoza, to Cape Mendocino, and was repeatedly visited by the Manila ships, to provide a port for which the expedition of Vizcaino was in part undertaken. And upon these various discoveries, and the proximity of their settlements in Mexico, the government of Spain proceeded, in the course of the seventeenth century, to make or authorize settlements in New California, so as to acquire all the territorial rights, by which any European government ever has obtained original claim to sovereignty of the soil in America.

Yet Great Britain sets up claims to sovereignty on the

* *London Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 160.

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northwest coast, in virtue of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake, who landed in 1579, at some point on the coast of California, either in the Bay of San Francisco, or, more probably, in the port of Bodega, but it is not well settled which. Sir Francis Drake also approached the coast in 42° or 43° N., but without landing. One of the accounts of his voyage, indeed, (*The World Encompassed*,) says he went to 48° N.; but this is incompatible with other parts of the same book, and also with another of the old books (*Famous Voyage*, &c.). They tell the story thus: On the 3d of June, Drake was in latitude 42°; on the 5th, he made land in latitude 43°; but it had then come on cold and tempestuous weather, and he was compelled to turn back, and so made a harbour in latitude 38° 30′. These are the figures given in the books.

Although Sir Francis pretended to take possession of the country, and to call it *New Albion*, this could amount to nothing as against Spain, the prior discoverer. England, by touching at New California, could not acquire any rights whatever; for whatever right such an act may be deemed, by the European conventional law, to confer, had already been appropriated by Spain. And Spain also proceeded to do that, which England did not do, and which, by the same European conventional law, is deemed the consummation of the inchoate title gained by discovery, namely, the formation of settlements in the country discovered. To say nothing, therefore, of the absurdity of claiming title for England as against Spain, by the piratical acts of a professional pirate, such as Sir Francis Drake, in most of his expeditions along the American coast, was, — to say nothing of this, — if Sir Francis Drake had been a peaceful, or at any rate a just explorer in behalf of England, yet, according even to the most liberal of all the rules of international law applicable to his case, his acts in reality conferred on his government no territorial rights whatever in America.

But the operations of Sir Francis Drake in the Pacific, and those of Sir Thomas Cavendish in 1588, with others of the same spirit, changed, as we have already stated, the policy of Spain, in regard to a northwest passage, and in regard to the *public* exploration of the northwestern coast of America. We are at a loss to know what apology, unless it be the barbarism of the times, Great Britain can adduce, for the scandalous proceedings perpetrated in Spanish America, un-

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der her flag. Piracy is too tender a name for those brutalities. Drake referred his own acts to the *inducement* of personal revenge, though the *object* was mere avarice. Whether Drake had any cause for personal resentment, is easy to judge by the facts. He began life as a *slave-trader*, under Hawkins. In searching for a market for his human cargoes, Hawkins stormed and took the town of Rio de la Hacha, simply "*because the Governor did not choose to trade with him.*" He proceeded to S. Juan de Ulua, conducting there like a king's fleet in time of war, rather than a private trader. At length, the Spaniards were obliged to repress by force the insolence of bucaniers, who began by stealing men in Africa, on speculation, and then assaulted towns in America, which would not buy their stolen men; and a fight ensued, in which some of Hawkins's vessels were destroyed; and thus Drake, though he returned to England in safety, yet *lost money* by his half slave-trading, half-piratical voyage. This misadventure was his apology for taking up, and systematically pursuing the business of piracy, plunder, and murder against the inhabitants of Spanish America, indiscriminately. Instead of raking up those old voyages as titles of territory or honor, England should desire to see the memory of them buried in everlasting oblivion. Least of all, should her writers in modern times complain of the "secrecy which the Spanish nation affected to preserve with respect to their discoveries" in the Pacific, or themselves add to the distortion of history, by purposely suppressing the knowledge of Spanish discoveries, in order thereby to give undue prominence to those of England.

Discovery in the North Pacific was revived, not by England, but by Russia, who, in consequence of her Asiatic possessions, very naturally turned her attention to the opposite coast of America. The voyages of Behring, and Tschirikow, in 1728, 1729, and 1741, led to a more exact knowledge of the relative bearings of the Asiatic and American coasts in the high northern latitudes, and to the Russian establishments on the Aleutian Islands, and the promontory of Alaska.

These events alarmed Spain, and stimulated England; and the numerous voyages of those two nations to the northwest coast ensued. First of all, was the important voyage of Don Juan Perez. He set sail from the port of San Blas in Jan-

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uary, 1774, in the corvette *Santiago*, with Esteban José Martinez, for pilot, having orders to reconnoitre the coast from Monterey, to the 60th degree of north latitude. They anchored in the road of Nootka, in August, 1774, *first of all Europeans*, and called it San Lorenzo. It was *four years afterwards*, that Cook visited the same place, and called it King George's Sound.*

The year following, 1775, a second expedition sailed from San Blas, under the orders of Don Bruno Heceta, Don Juan de Ayala, and Don Juan de la Bodega y Quadra. The incidents of this voyage are known to English readers by the journal of the pilot Maurelle, published in Barrington's "Miscellanies." They explored the coast up to latitude 58°, and were the first to discover the mouth of the river Columbia, which they called Entrada de Heceta.†

In 1776, another expedition from San Blas to the northwest was projected by the Spanish government, and intrusted to Quadra and to Don Ignacio Arteaga; but it did not set sail until 1779. Quadra, with his pilot Don Francisco Maurelle, surveyed in this expedition the port of Bucareli, as in their former voyage; also, Mount St. Elias, and the Isle of La Magdalena. (Hinchinbrook.)

We find very slighting accounts of these voyages in the English books of abridgment, which so minutely describe that of Cook, who, on his third and last voyage, in 1778, explored the coast of America from Nootka Sound to Behring's Strait, but, being posterior to the Spanish navigators, Perez, Heceta, and others of the older ones, could not by this voyage confer any rights of discovery on Great Britain. Moreover, Cook's explorations, it will be remembered, were from Nootka Sound, northward, and do not touch the country of Oregon.

Next comes the unfortunate French expedition of La Pérouse, who, in 1786, was at Mount St. Elias, and sailed from thence to Monterey, but without making any novel discoveries of value, on that coast.

Voyages to the northwest were now interrupted for a while, by the progress of the American Revolution, which involved Britain, France, and Spain, as well as the United States, in a common war. But immediately after the restoration of peace,

* Humboldt, *N. Esp.* Vol. I. p. 331. † Humboldt, Vol. I. p. 330.

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commerce turned its attention to the productive fur-trade of that region; Great Britain and the United States became competitors with Russia for the supply of peltries in the markets of Asia; and a great number of private merchant vessels began to frequent Nootka Sound and the neighbouring seas and islands. Among these commercial navigators, the Englishmen, Meares, Portlocke, and Dixon, and the American, Robert Gray, distinguished themselves by their valuable additions to the geographical knowledge of the coast; especially, by entering and exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and thus proving conclusively, that the story of the old pilot was a true one, and that the credit of the first discovery of that strait is due to Spain.

We shall recur to Gray's voyages in a subsequent paragraph, leaving them at present in order to continue the account of the Spanish ones, — to show that Spain did not, by any neglect or abandonment, lose the rights, which she already possessed by prior discovery.

In 1788, two Spanish vessels, commanded by Don Esteban Martinez and Don Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, sailed from San Blas to examine the Russian establishments in America; and, in 1799, Martinez proceeded with the same vessels for the purpose of making a settlement in Nootka Sound, and constructed the fort of San Miguel on one of the islands there. Two months after this, arrived the English ship *Argonaut*, fitted out by a new trading corporation in England, called "King George's Sound Company," which, in the grasping and rapacious spirit that has actuated the East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, pretended to monopolize to itself the trade and territory of Nootka Sound. Martinez demanded by what right England undertook to do this. Colnet, the commander of the *Argonaut*, referred to Cook's voyage. Martinez very justly replied, that he himself, under Perez, had anticipated Cook, in the discovery of Nootka Sound, by four years; a fact well remembered by the natives, who had a perfect recollection of Martinez personally, and of the expedition of Perez. At length, Martinez put an end to the dispute by arresting Colnet, and sending him to San Blas. At the same time, other vessels, commanded by Don Francisco Elisa and Don Salvador Fidalgo, were sent from Mexico to support Martinez. Fidalgo formed a second Spanish settlement or fort to the

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southeast of Quadra's Island, *on the main land*, at the entrance of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in latitude 48° 20′ N. This fact is important to be remembered. For we thus see, that Spain was the first European power that doubled Cape Mendocino and Cape Blanco, the first that visited the river of Aguilar, the first that discovered the inlet of Columbia River, the first that visited Nootka Sound, the first that discovered the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and *the first that formed any establishment, on any part of the northwest coast, from California to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude.* Hers is the prior title to that of England, both by discovery and by settlement.

Meanwhile, the seizure of Colnet had excited a very lively sensation in Europe, and well-nigh involved Britain and Spain in a new war. This was the celebrated Nootka Sound controversy; a diplomatic question, into which we do not propose to enter at present; which controversy being disposed of by a convention between Great Britain and Spain, the design, previously conceived by the British government, to have a more careful survey of the northwest coast, was resumed, and intrusted to Vancouver. His exertions were meritorious and valuable. Not, however, that he made any new discovery of *national* consequence, but that he followed up successfully those of others, and accurately reconnoitred an extensive region. This was done during the years 1792, 1793, and 1794.

Of course, the English compilations give to Vancouver all the credit he deserves, and much that he does not deserve, and never claimed. The "History of Discovery," already referred to, assigns to Vancouver, by implication, if not in express terms, the honor of first entering Columbia River.* And yet Vancouver himself, in his own narrative, states truly and candidly, with the frankness natural to a brave sailor, that he derived the knowledge of the existence of Columbia River from Captain Gray, who had previously visited it, and named it; and who spoke Vancouver, and communicated to him the fact! On the 29th of April, 1792, Vancouver says, that he spoke the ship *Columbia* of Boston, Captain Robert Gray; that Gray gave information of a river in 46° 10′; and he then proceeds to mention a previous voyage, that of the Washington, in which Gray had entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca.†

* Vol. III. pp. 138, 139. † *Voyage*, Vol. I.

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Afterwards, when Vancouver sent Broughton, one of his officers, to explore the River Columbia, he says, "Broughton had for his guidance thus far up the inlet, a chart by Mr. Gray, who had commanded the American ship *Columbia*."* In the same place, he uses the name of *Point Adams*, applied by Gray. Yet not a word of this in the "History of Discovery"!

The exact facts, derived from authentic documents, public and private, in our possession, are as follows:

In the year 1787, Joseph Barrell, a distinguished merchant of Boston, in the State of Massachusetts, projected a voyage of commerce and discovery to the northwest coast of America; and Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Derby, Crowell Hatch, and John M. Pintard, citizens of the United States, became associated with him in the enterprise. Two vessels, the ship *Columbia*, commanded by John Kendrick, and the sloop *Washington* by Robert Gray, were equipped, and provided with suitable cargoes for traffic with the natives, and set sail from Boston in October, 1787. This expedition was regarded with much interest, it being the first attempt from the United States to circumnavigate the globe. The *Columbia* arrived at Nootka Sound the 16th of September, 1788, and the *Washington* soon afterwards. Here they proceeded to collect furs. While on the coast, Captain Gray, in the *Washington*, entered into, and sailed some way up the long-lost Strait of Juan de Fuca, which Martinez, in 1774, had seen, but not entered. Captain Gray was then transferred to the *Columbia*, and proceeded in her to Canton with the furs collected, and at Canton took in a cargo of teas for Boston, Captain Kendrick remaining on the coast in the *Lady Washington*. Thus far, the enterprise had not proved a gainful one to the parties, two of whom, Messrs. Derby and Pintard, disposed of their shares to Messrs. Barrell and Brown; who, with their remaining associates, decided, nevertheless, to despatch the *Columbia* once again, with Captain Gray, to the northwest coast. He accordingly proceeded thither, and, on the 7th of May, 1792, came in sight of land in latitude 46° 58′, and anchored in what he named *Bulfinch's Harbour*. On the 11th of May he entered a large river; and, on the 14th, sailed up the same about fourteen miles, and remained in the river until the 21st of May. To this river he gave the name of his ship, and the

* Vol. II. p. 53.

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north side of the entrance he called *Cape Hancock*, the south side, *Point Adams*. This is the first entrance and exploration of the River Columbia; the inlet, or bay of which, however, had been seen by Ayala and Heceta, and called by them Entrada de Heceta, as we have before stated; and, so far as the discovery and exploration of this river from the sea can confer any claims of sovereignty, those claims, therefore, belong to the United States, both in her own right and in right of Spain. And, although the voyage was unprofitable to its enterprising projectors, it was highly important to the United States, as well by giving rights of discovery, as because it opened the way to a most valuable and productive commerce, which was afterwards pursued by other citizens of the United States.

Of these peculiar facts, more especially the discovery of the Columbia, we gain no distinct idea from the popular English histories of maritime discovery. We cannot believe, that all their suppressions and amplifications are innocent or simple accidents, or allow, that they should be excused by the plea of national vainglory.

This trait is further evinced, by the manner in which the same work just hints at the fact of the Spanish explorations, simultaneous with those of Vancouver, treating them as of no account, and mentioning no names, and then proceeding to say, after giving the history of Vancouver's voyage; "No further knowledge was obtained of the northwest coast of America until 1816." We do not know whether this mode of treating the subject, by which the honor of the explorations of that period is thus almost exclusively assumed for Great Britain, is to be imputed to gross carelessness or wilful misrepresentation. At any rate, it is the reverse of truth; for the voyage of Malaspina in 1791, and that of Galiano and Valdes in 1792, may well compare in dignity and importance with those of Cook and Vancouver.

Malaspina sailed from Cadiz in 1789, in the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, and, having other objects, did not reach Acapulco on his way to the northwest, until February, 1791. He spent a part of that year in surveying the extreme northwest coast in search of the strait supposed to have been discovered by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, and in taking the heights of mountains, and the exact position of great points, as well to the north of and near to Nootka Sound, as on the coast of New Spain.

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At the suggestion of Malaspina, the Conde de Revillagigedo, Viceroy of New Spain, despatched on another expedition the schooners *Sutil* and *Mejicana*, commanded by Don Dionisio Galiano and Don Cayetano Valdes, to make survey of the coast between Cape Mendocino and Nootka Sound, which, thus far, had been passed by, or only cursorily examined, by other navigators. Galiano and Valdes, like Malaspina, possessed all the qualities of character and science required for this duty. In the course of this voyage, they completed the survey of the strait of Juan de Fuca, sailing all around the island of Quadra and Vancouver, meeting and having the most friendly intercourse with Vancouver on those seas. They also explored the River Columbia. The result of their labors was published in Spain in 1802,* with a learned introduction, ascribed to Navarrete. †

There still remained another tract of coast, between latitudes 51° and 56° N., not satisfactorily explored; and this was done in 1792, by Don Jacinto Caamaño, in the frigate *Aranzazu*, under the orders of the Viceroy of New Spain. ‡

In saying, also, that, except what Vancouver did, nothing further was discovered on the northwest coast, until Kotzebue's Russian voyage in 1816, the author of the "History of Discovery" overlooks other Russian voyages, more especially that of Billings, terminated in 1794, § and the progressive settlements of Russia north of 54°, which Great Britain has recognised by treaty, as well as the United States.

Our contemplated task is finished. We have hastily reviewed the history of northwestern discovery, down to the close of the eighteenth century. What has happened subsequently, and since the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, belongs to another branch of the subject, which we may, perhaps, discuss at some future time. We close with two or three incidental remarks.

In popular language, and also in the proceedings of Congress, the country belonging to the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, is called Oregon, although the name of *Columbia* is now very generally applied to the great river by which that country is watered. And it is desirable to continue to call the river by the name of *Columbia*, which pre-

* *Viage de las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana.*
† See Navarrete's *Coleccion de Viages*, French Trans. Tom I. p. 393.
‡ Humboldt, *N. Esp.* Tom. I. p. 343. § Maltebrun.

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serves the memory of Gray's discovery. But the name *Columbia* has other uses in the United States, and elsewhere in America, which render it inconvenient as the designation of the country, of which Oregon seems to be the fixed appellation. We wish that Mr. Worcester, or Mr. Bradford, or some scholar in the Western States, distinguished like those gentlemen for geographical science, would explain the origin of this word *Oregon*, which, so far as we know, is not satisfactorily settled. Mr. Darby, in his "Gazetteer," traces the name to the Spanish *origano*, for the sweet marjoram, growing on the banks of the river. But to this it is a serious objection, that the name *Oregon* does not seem, so far as we remember, to have been in use among the Spaniards. And as there are, and have been no settlers of that nation upon the river, how should their word for wild marjoram come to designate the river? Humboldt speaks of "le mot indien *Origan*.* Of what Indians is it the word? Not of those living on the Columbia. Humboldt also talks of the "Orégan de Mackenzie."† But Mackenzie did not introduce the word. We find it in Carver's Travels (1763), and that is the oldest authority for it which has met our eye.

In one place, Carver speaks of the "Oregan, or River of the West;" in another, of "The river Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at *the Straits of Anian*." Did Carver derive all his knowledge of this river from the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, among whom he travelled? And if so, is the name of their giving? That is what seems most probable. For how else could he know any thing of it? We have no reason to suppose the inlet of the river had been visited by Europeans prior to Heceta's voyage in 1774, or the mouth of the river itself before the time of Robert Gray, in 1792. Nor do we remember any account of the Rocky Mountains having been crossed by Europeans, and the Columbia seen by them in that direction, so long ago as the time of Carver. But there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that the Indians of the Upper Mississippi and Missouri may have had early intercourse with the Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, or even visited the Oregon in person, and given it some significant name of their own. Has the word *Oregon* a meaning in the language of any of those Indians?

* Humboldt, p. 342. † Ibid.

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The true test of the first application of the names of great natural objects, like rivers and mountains, is, to find a people in whose language the names are significant. The names of places thus come to be valuable historic monuments. Thus, in Britain, the Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and English words, which designate localities, all testify to the presence of the successive nations, which have occupied the island. Even the terminations of words do this. *Cester* (castra), is a Roman camp, *stead* or *ham* is of the Saxons. And we should very much like to see a table of the Indian proper names of the geography of the United States, with the true etymology of each, and a reference to the tribe in whose language it is a *speaking* word.

Again. What led Carver to associate together the River Oregon, and the Strait of Anian? Had he read Torquemada's account of the river of Aguilar?

These are questions we would gladly see answered. Our doubts on the subject may arise from want of due investigation on our part; and, if so, rather than to remain ignorant, we choose, in this as in every other case, plainly to confess our ignorance.

One thing more. The fact is now thoroughly established, that the Arctic Sea encompasses the northern extremity of America. The Hudson's Bay Company, for more than a century, was the great obstacle to the proper exploration of the arctic regions of North America. Or, in the pungent language of the Quarterly Review, "From the moment this body of 'Adventurers' was instituted, the *spirit* of adventure died away; and every succeeding effort was palsied by the baneful influence of monopoly, of which the discovery of a northwest passage was deemed the forerunner of destruction." The Northwest Company, after competing awhile with the Hudson's Bay Company, drove the latter to a compromise; and the result has been the union of the two associations, under the corrupt charter of the latter, and the formation of a still more gigantic monopoly, which, like the East India Company in Asia, has gradually extended its odious and usurped dominion over an immense region of North America; — constituting a dangerous nondescript foreign power, intruded among us under cover of the flag of Great Britain, which nation stands ready to avow or disavow its acts, as the tide of circumstances may turn. This Company, we say, — which

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we desire at all proper times to hold up to the censure and watchfulness of the people of the United States, — has in later times been shamed into occasional acts of exploration along the Arctic Sea. It professes to have finished that, which Parry, Ross, and Franklin had all but finished. Messrs. Dease and Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, have recently explored the little there was left of unknown betwixt the mouth of Mackenzie's River and Behring's Strait. And we may now aver, — *There is a Strait of Anian.* That is to say, there is a water communication (though more or less obstructed by ice) from the Atlantic to the Pacific, along the arctic side of North America. That being the fact, it might be well, as a matter of historical curiosity, to reconsider the stories of Maldonado, De Fonte, Urdaneta, and Ladrillero, and to compare them with modern observation, so as to judge how far they may thus appear, any of them, to have been founded on actual discovery and knowledge, or to be pure fable. The result of this might be to restore merited honor to another Juan de Fuca.

ART. IV. — 1. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par P. S. LAPLACE, Membre de l'Institut National de France et du Bureau des Longitudes. Tome Premier, pp. 368, et Tome Second, pp. 382. An VII. 4to.

2. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par P. S. LAPLACE, Membre du Sénat Conservateur, de l'Institut National et du Bureau des Longitudes de France ; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue, des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, d'Italie, etc. Tome Troisième. Paris, An XI. 1802. pp. 303.

3. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par M. LAPLACE, Chancelier du Sénat Conservateur, Grand-Officer de la Légion d'Honneur, Membre de l'Institut et du Bureau des Longitudes de France ; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue ; des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, d'Italie, etc. Tome Quatrième. An XIII. = 1805. pp. 347.

4. *Traité de Mécanique Céleste.* Par M. LE MARQUIS DE LAPLACE, Pair de France ; Grand Croix de la Légion d'Honneur ; l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Fran-

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çaise; Membre du Bureau des Longitudes de France; des Sociétés Royales de Londres et de Gottingue; des Académies des Sciences de Russie, de Danemark, de Suède, de Prusse, des Pays-Bas, d'Italie, de Boston, etc. Tome Cinquième. 1825. pp. 419.

5. *Mécanique Céleste.* By the MARQUIS DE LA PLACE, Peer of France; Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor; Member of the French Academy; of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; of the Board of Longitude of France; of the Royal Societies of London and Göttingen; of the Academies of Sciences of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, and Italy; Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, &c. Translated, with a Commentary, by NATHANIEL BOWDITCH, LL. D., Fellow of the Royal Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; of the Astronomical Society of London; of the Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia; of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, etc. Volume I. 1829. pp. 746. Volume II. 1832. pp. 990. Volume III. 1834. pp. 1017. Volume IV. pp. 1018.
6. *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., delivered in the Church on Church Green, March 25,* 1838. By ALEXANDER YOUNG. Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 120.
7. *An Eulogy on the Life and Character of Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., F. R. S., delivered at the Request of the Corporation of the City of Salem, May 24,* 1838. By DANIEL APPLETON WHITE. Salem: 8vo. pp. 72.
8. *Eulogy on Nathaniel Bowditch, LL. D., President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; including an Analysis of his Scientific Publications. Delivered before the Academy, May 29,* 1838. By JOHN PICKERING, *Corresponding Secretary of the Academy.* Boston: Little & Brown. 8vo. pp. 101.

COMPARED with the infinite variety and extent of physical phenomena, the domains of the science of quantity would, at first sight, seem confined to very narrow limits. But when we consider, that mathematics treat of all forms and motions; when we find the sweetest tones and the brightest colors, the lightning and the rainbow, heat and cold, and the very winds

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and waves subject to the strictest laws of motion; when, in short, we learn, that the whole world is bound together upon mechanical principles; we must concede that the ocean, upon which the mathematician has launched his ship, is as unbounded as the material universe. But, of all sciences, the one the best fitted for the application and advancement of geometry is Astronomy; and the phenomena of the firmament, as developed by the geometer, are so glorious and so sublime, as to realize the fabled music of the spheres. Here, however, we must stop, and not trench upon the empire of fancy. It is for the man of science to calculate the harmony of the heavens with his slate and pencil, and he may not presume to sing it with the harp of the bard; it is not his to gaze, to admire and wonder, but to observe with care, to know and comprehend. As the sailor is not the poet of the sea, neither is the mathematician the poet of the sky; but, like a rapid and impetuous torrent, the depth of his channel deprives him of the view of the fertile fields and splendid scenery, through which he is hurrying to his sole object, the sea of truth.

Mournful is it to think, that national prejudices could ever intrude themselves into the council-chamber of philosophy. But so it is. Though France has, for many years, been the land of mathematicians, her eminence has not taught her magnanimity. Her neighbours, England, Germany, and Italy, have complained of her eagerness to appropriate their labors, and of her reluctance to acknowledge their merits; and more than once has she cast shafts of envy even at the immortal legislator of the physical universe. The historian of astronomy, Delambre, of whom she is rightly proud, did indeed allow, that Newton stood alone, above all other astronomers, and called him "cet homme unique"; but, nevertheless, he dwelt much upon the exaggerated homage the English paid him, upon the steps which previous mathematicians had taken in anticipation of his discoveries, and upon the imperfections of the "Principia." He says of the lunar theory, that he had been sometimes tempted to suspect, that some of the results were not derived, as they professed to be, from theory, but from the examination of observations; confessing, that he would not have ventured upon such an insinuation, if it had not been before made by Clairaut. He is for giving Bouilland the honor of discovering the law of gravitation, and Newton that

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of demonstrating it ; and even this share of the glory Newton must divide with his good fortune. Because he had received from Kepler the laws of the planetary motions, and from Huygens those of motion in general ; because an accurate measure of the earth had been recently made ; and, more than all, because he had the analysis which he himself created ; Delambre would conclude, with Lagrange, that, even if Newton were the greatest of mathematicians and natural philosophers, he was also the most fortunate. "For," he says, "a world to be explained, and materials ready for its explanation, are to be met with but once ; to meet with them was Newton's good fortune ; he knew how to profit by it ; there lies his glory."

These conclusions, not unsupported by facts, but characterized by a tone of jealousy unworthy of the amiable and illustrious Lagrange, were repeated in the "*Système du Monde*" ; as if such good fortune were not always the lot of genius. Galileo found it in the almost accidental invention of the telescope ; Kepler, in the friendship of Tycho Brahe, without whose observations he might never have left a wilderness of fanciful speculations, in which the present fashionable philosophy would have rioted, to reap his glorious harvest from the fruitful fields of inductive science ; and Laplace himself found it in the ready assistance and coöperation of the first observers and calculators of Europe. Nature, indeed, seems, when casting the lot of her great men, to load her dice with peculiar care ; and her favorite sons are ever born at the most fortunate epochs. But the author of the "Optics," the "Fluxions," and the "Principia," was, in no respect, the genius of accident ; his thrice-won immortality towered far above his good fortune ; and the striking fact must not be forgotten, that precisely the same good fortune was that of his noble rival, Leibnitz, who had likewise created the very same analysis. But, far from knowing how to profit by it, as Newton had done, he even opposed the "Principia" and the law of gravitation with all his might, was joined in his opposition by the first geometers of the age, and, in the words of Biot, "it was half a century before the great truth, contained and demonstrated in the 'Principia,' was, I will not say, followed and developed, but before it was even comprehended by the majority of the learned."

The recent discovery of some old papers has led to singu-

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lar discussions regarding the reputation of Newton ; and some have pretended, that, because the observations were essential to the calculations of the lunar theory, the observer Flamsteed is entitled to a large share of Newton's glory. With equal justice the organ-blower might lay claim to the merit of the music of Mozart. The mere observer is only a higher order of mechanic ; his "Historia Cœlestis" displays only his untiring industry, and the acuteness of his senses ; he is but the hand of astronomy, and may not wear the crown of glory fitted to the head, which combines his observations into an harmonious theory.

But the private character of Newton has suffered more severely from these developements ; and the snails of literature have been most industrious in defacing the reputation once so bright and unsullied. However much their writings may please a world, but too eager to prune all men down to the same level, the generous mind will turn from them with disgust to Laplace's last labor, which, purporting to be a history of mathematical astronomy, is, in reality, the noblest and truest eulogy upon him who laid its foundations.

The first division of this volume, treating of the Mathematical Theory of the Earth's Figure, begins with the fact, that Newton founded this theory ; and concludes an accurate account of Newton's labors upon it with the remark, that, notwithstanding several hypotheses, one of which is contrary to later observations, this step must be regarded as a prodigious one, considering the importance and novelty of the propositions established by its author, and the extreme difficulty of the subject. We must here give another remark of Laplace, made upon the lunar theory, — that these hypotheses may be allowed to inventors in such profound researches ; and we may add, that Newton's instinct in such hypotheses was almost unerring, was altogether unrivalled, and seemed to border upon the divine. In the book upon the Attraction of Spheres, and the Motions of Elastic Fluids, Newton is said to have been the first to consider the attraction of spherical bodies, and his theory of sound is pronounced to be a monument of his genius. This theory had been objected to by Lagrange, in the "Turin Miscellany," on account of the alleged unsoundness and paradoxical nature of its reasoning ; and his objections have been quoted and repeated by later mathematicians, among whom we blush to write the

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name of an Englishman, and so eminent a philosopher as the younger Herschel. These geometers seem never to have examined either the original theory, or the attack upon it; and must have been ignorant of the fact, that, with a magnanimity of which few are capable, Lagrange had, in the "Memoirs of the Berlin Academy," retracted his objections, and admitted the principles of Newton's theory to be indisputably correct. The arguments against the theory, far from showing its inaccuracy, were, indeed, the most conclusive demonstration of its generality, and only proved, that Newton needed not to limit it to a particular case, and should not have inferred this case to be the one of Nature, because it satisfied his theory.

In his next book, upon the Oscillations of the Fluids which cover the Planets, La Place says, that Newton first gave the true theory of the ebb and flow of the sea, attaching it to his great principle of universal gravitation. Euler, the father of modern analysis, concluded the method of Newton to be entirely erroneous, and not even to have approached the truth; but Laplace points out the cause of the difference between the results of these two profound geometers, and shows that Newton's theory, instead of deserving Euler's reproaches, was most admirable for its ingenuity.

In the chapter upon the Precession of the Equinoxes, the Newtonian solution of this most intricate of problems is carefully analyzed, and proved to have but one defect, which, though "a radical one, is quite excusable in a first inventor, and would probably have been corrected, if Newton's other occupations had allowed him to pay a closer attention to the discoveries of the continental mathematicians."

The honor of discovering the law of gravitation, and thus laying the corner-stone of the celestial mechanics, is, in this volume, given most unreservedly to the author of the "Principia," and without any of those qualifying remarks upon his good fortune, which had intruded themselves into the "*Système du Monde.*"

Newton's researches into the theory of the moon, which had met with so sad a reception from Clairaut and Delambre, are unhesitatingly pronounced, by Laplace, to be one of the most profound parts of his admirable work; and a portion of them appeared to him so remarkable for ingenuity, that he devoted a chapter to the task of translating this portion into the language of modern analysis.

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Such is a brief review of Laplace's notices of Newton's labors; and they show, that, in all the profound discussions of the "*Mécanique Céleste*," the first steps had been taken in the "Principia." But La Place is not the only French philosopher who has risen above national prejudices, and cheerfully acknowledged all the greatness of Newton. Biot, also, calling the author of the "Principia" "the creator of natural philosophy," regarded him, moreover, as having founded the principles of the Mechanics of Chemistry, by referring its combinations to atomic attractions and repulsions, and by taking the boldest, happiest, and most original views of the composition of bodies. The evil genius even of Newton gained, however, one victory over his good fortune, and deprived the world for ever of his more sublime speculations upon this vast subject. By an unlucky accident, the labor of years was burned to cinders, the mighty soul of Newton was agitated with an emotion, which his physical powers could not resist, and from which, it is doubtful if they ever recovered, and his dog Diamond achieved for himself a share in his master's immortality. Were it not for this accident, we cannot conjecture how high the monument of his genius would have aspired, and how many later discoveries he would have anticipated; but enough remains to justify and command the homage of every man of science, whether English or French, and to vindicate his epitaph, "Congratulentur sibi mortales tale tantumque exstitisse humani generis decus."

Although the fifth volume of the "*Mecanique Céleste*" was published more than twenty years after the preceding ones, it is, from its historical character, the real preface to the whole work. It will be adopted as the text for the present article, and its division into subjects will be closely followed. Returning, then, to its first chapter upon "The Figure and Rotation of the Earth," we will notice more particularly, the hypotheses assumed by Newton, without demonstration, in order to evade the difficulties of the calculus. He supposed the earth to be an ellipsoid of revolution, and to be homogeneous; and gravity to increase from the equator to the poles, in proportion to the square of the sine of the latitude. The first of these hypotheses is quite a natural one, since the ellipse is the most simple of ovals; but the last, though neat in its form, could, by no means, have been obvious to the

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original inquirer. Both of these have, however, been confirmed by the successive demonstrations of Clairaut, Maclaurin, D'Alembert, Legendre, and La Place; but La Place has proved, that the second hypothesis is inconsistent with known phenomena, and that the earth is not homogeneous. The researches upon this subject assume the earth to have attained its present form while in a fluid state, or at least while covered with a fluid, and are, therefore, based upon the principles of hydrostatics.

The general principle of the equilibrium of fluids was unknown to Newton, and he adopted an imperfect one, which was, however, when combined with his hypotheses, sufficient for his purpose. He supposed a canal, consisting of two branches, to be drawn from the centre of the earth, the one branch to the pole and the other to the equator; and inferred, that the pressures upon the bases of the branches must be equal, because the fluid contained in the canal must be at rest of itself, independently of the surrounding fluid. Huygens, about the same time, introduced the condition, that the surface of the fluid must be upon a level, that is, must be perpendicular to the direction of a falling body; which was united by Bouguer with that of Newton. But the combination was not sufficient for all cases; and Maclaurin, generalizing the idea of Newton, was led to the great principle, that the pressures upon the bases of all the straight canals drawn from *any* point of the fluid to its surface must be equal. Clairaut's more famous and more recent principle, which has been adopted by almost all mathematicians, that, if an oval canal be drawn, of any curve whatever, the fluid contained within it must be at rest, independently of the other parts of the fluid, may easily be shown to be but a slight and unimportant generalization of that of Maclaurin; but it deserves its reputation, since its author, by translating it into algebraical language, deduced from it the equations of the equilibrium of fluids; "a discovery which," says Lagrange, "has changed the face of hydrostatics, and made it a new science." These equations can, however, be deduced from the more fundamental principle, which is almost identical with Maclaurin's, that a fluid presses equally in every direction; but this principle itself has been traced by Lagrange back to its source, and it flows directly and necessarily from the definition of a fluid, that its particles move by each other with perfect facility. That a fluid will be at rest when each particle is pressed

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equally in every direction is, however, too obvious a truth to have escaped the acuteness of antiquity. We find it involved in the proposition of Archimedes, that the less pressed particles will force away those which are more so ; and when he adds, that the pressure upon a particle is equal to the weight of all the column above it, we feel, that he only needed the language of modern analysis to have perfected his theory of hydrostatics.

Clairaut's condition is so intimately united with this fundamental principle, that its completeness would seem no more subject to doubt than its evident necessity ; it has, however, been doubted by that most accomplished geometer, Ivory, who has proposed another condition, which he thought must be added to it. The propriety of this addition has been much discussed by mathematicians, and successfully resisted by Poisson, who has pointed out several cases in which it would lead to erroneous results. Bowditch has, also, tested it, in a single instance, and, by a neat diagram, exposed its fallacy to a mere glance of the eye. Since the publication of Bowditch's volume, and without any allusion to it, Ivory has, however, somewhat changed his ground, and struck out that feature of his principle which was the peculiar object of attack. The paper, in which Ivory distinctly confessed the exceptionable point of his previous statement, is published in the "London Philosophical Transactions" for 1834, and stands altogether alone as a specimen of geometrical sophistry. Never did a demagogue exert himself more to break up the foundations of society, and reduce it to a chaos in which the lowest might hope to rise, than Ivory has done, by a most artful inaccuracy of expression and looseness of reasoning, to confuse our ideas upon the principles of hydrostatics, and thus save his crude speculations from a merited censure, if not obtain for them a portion of respect and admiration. The contempt which he here expresses for the labors of other geometers is in curious contrast with the praises bestowed in an earlier paper. To grasp and expose the errors of his obscure argument were no easy task. Near the end of his paper, he remarks, that, when a homogeneous fluid spheroid, rotating upon an axis, is in equilibrium, any similar spheroid, taken within it, and having the same axis, must also be in equilibrium, independently of the surrounding stratum. "It would," as he says, "be superfluous to repeat the de-

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monstration of this proposition, as it is attended with no difficulty, and has not been contested. And because the fluid of the inner spheroid is separately in equilibrium, with respect to the centrifugal force of its particles, and the attraction of its mass, it must likewise be in equilibrium with respect to the other forces that act upon it; for, were it not so, the whole body of the fluid would not be in equilibrium." To this point we agree with him, but we cannot admit, that "the other forces" are only the attraction of the exterior stratum, and thus leave out of view the pressure of this stratum, which seems to us to vary upon the different points of the surface of the internal spheroid, and not to be everywhere the same, as is shown by Ivory to result from his principle. The error of this result is, indeed, no less evident from Bowditch's diagram, than the fallacy which it was intended to expose. It would follow from it, that, if the earth were a perfectly stationary, homogeneous fluid, and if a solid sphere of the same density, and of a mile in diameter, were to be let down into it, until the upper surface just touched that of the earth, the pressure upon the sphere would be everywhere the same, and the point a mile below the surface of the earth, and which bears the weight of a column of fluid a mile high, would be no more pressed than the upper point, which is not pressed at all.

Clairaut applied his calculations to the case of a solid elliptical nucleus, covered entirely with a fluid, which Laplace afterward generalizing, extended his researches to a nucleus of any nearly spherical form; and in his last volume he has gone still further, and, surmounting every obstacle, has shown that all the irregularities of continents and seas may be included in the analysis. "In thus," he says, "approaching Nature, the causes of several important phenomena, presented by Natural History and Geology, may be discovered, and great light be shed over these two sciences."

In order to verify and complete these profound investigations, it is important to compare the oblateness of the earth deduced from them, with that indicated by observations. The most obvious method of determining the figure of the earth from observation, is, to measure its curvature in different places, that is, the lengths of its degrees. From a comparison of such measurements, La Place concluded, that the hypothesis of an elliptical meridian was but an imperfect ap-

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proximation to the truth. This method is, however, less to be relied upon than any other which has been used, because slight deviations from the regular figure are much magnified by it, and the measures are liable to very great inaccuracies. Of the seven measurements, indeed, collected by La Place, and which would seem to have been made most carefully and at great expense, four have been rejected, upon further examination, as unworthy of credit, another has been corrected, and only two have since been added to supply their place. Nor is this defect of observation so very wonderful, when we reflect, that, for man to measure the earth is scarcely less disproportioned to his physical dimensions, than for the ant to measure the mountain upon which he has raised his little hill.

Retaining, then, only these five of the most extensive and accurate observations, Airy has computed the earth's form, supposing it not to be precisely elliptical; but, from the same observations, Bowditch has, by an improved method of his own, obtained a far more satisfactory result. Bowditch has also applied his method to these observations, supposing the earth to be elliptical, and has still obtained a figure "more conformable to them than the irregular figure resulting from Airy's calculation," and sufficiently agreeing with them to prove, that the elliptical hypothesis should by no means be neglected. The oblateness, thus obtained, is about one three-hundredth, which is that generally adopted by astronomers; and Bowditch's results are fully sustained by the calculations of Ivory.

Another method of measuring the actual oblateness is taken from the observations of the seconds' pendulum. The value, obtained from them by La Place, was much too small, but has been considerably augmented by Bowditch's corrections of some errors in his calculations; and from later and better observations, Bowditch and Ivory have both deduced a value, which does not differ much from one three-hundredth. Even these observations of the pendulum are not, however, to be relied upon with any great degree of confidence; but, as Bowditch justly remarks, "instead of being dissatisfied with this result, we ought to feel some degree of surprise, that the difference between the polar and the equatorial radius of the earth can be determined within a fraction of a mile, by means of the very small excess of the polar, over the equatorial pendulum, which may be considered as a

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base line of less than a quarter of an inch in length," which is only about one three-millionth part of the length to be ascertained, or one thousand-millionth part of the radius of our globe. How surprising is it, then, that La Place has been able to deduce not only the form of the earth, but even, in a degree, its internal structure, from the observed variations in the length of the pendulum; and to prove, most conclusively, that the earth is not homogeneous, that its density continually increases from its surface to its centre, and that its layers of different densities are disposed regularly about its centre, in a form almost elliptical!

In determining the earth's figure, either from the length of the degree or that of the pendulum, different measurements are not found to lead to the same result; and it is, therefore, necessary to adopt that, which most nearly satisfies the observations. Various methods have been proposed for selecting the preferable ellipse, founded upon different ideas of probability. The most natural one is, perhaps, to seek that ellipse, in which the greatest error is as small as possible; but a single instance will exhibit its unsatisfactoriness. If, of one hundred observations, ninety-nine coincide in the same result, we should find, that the minimum of the greatest error corresponded to an oblateness which was half way between the result of the single observation and that of all the others; and one observation would, in this method, be worth full as much as the remaining ninety-nine. A more philosophical method is that of the least squares; and a still better one is that proposed by Boscovich, and adopted by La Place; it requires the sum of all the errors to be a minimum, and also the sum of the positive errors to equal that of the negative errors. Bowditch has, however, given a correction of the method of the least squares, which seems to raise it even above that of Boscovich; and we have already alluded to the entire success which he met with in its applications. He observed, that, in the common method of least squares, an arc of ten degrees has one hundred times the influence of an arc of one degree. He then continues;

"This is unreasonable; for an arc of ten degrees, measured by one person, with the same instruments, and by the same method, is liable to the imperfection of the peculiar manner of observation of that single observer, and to the errors of *one* set of instruments; and it cannot be doubted, that *ten* consecutive

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degrees, measured by *ten* different persons, of equal skill and carefulness in observing, each being furnished with instruments of the same completeness and accuracy, would be at least as satisfactory as ten consecutive degrees, measured by only one of these observers, with the same single set of instruments, notwithstanding the advantage, in this last measure, of requiring only two observations of the latitude throughout the whole arc. We shall therefore assume as a principle, that, *in the application of the method of the least squares to geodetical measures, we must suppose any arc of the length of* i *degrees to have the same weight as* i *single degrees, measured separately.*" — Vol. II. p. 435.

A third method of obtaining the oblateness, which is considered by La Place superior to the others, is derived from observed irregularities in the motion of the moon, so that the astronomer, without leaving his observatory, is able to determine the earth's figure with unrivalled accuracy.

The form of the earth, thus deduced from observation, hardly differs from that which it would have, if the ocean were taken from it, and its surface reduced to a fluid state. Hence, and from the small density of the sea compared with the earth, La Place inferred, that the average depth of the ocean must be small; and his inference is confirmed by the small height of the tides. The regularity with which the different strata are disposed about its centre, has also led him to the conclusion, generally maintained by geologists, that the whole earth was once fluid. He has proved, that it is not necessary to suppose the interior shells to be chemically different in their component parts, for that all known phenomena would be equally well satisfied, if they were of the same compressible substance.

In all astronomical observations, the length of the day and the latitude of the place are assumed to be invariable; so that it is of the highest practical importance to prove, that the earth is for ever rotating upon the same axis with perfect uniformity. Now geometers have long known, that every solid body has three principal axes of rotation, about any one of which, if it once turns, it can never cease to turn with unchanging velocity, unless from the powerful influence of some foreign force. One of the earth's principal axes would be its present axis, if it were entirely solid; but it would seem as if the sea, with its perpetual oscillations, must affect the regularity of the rotation. A profound analysis, however, led

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La Place to the directly opposite conclusion, that, if the earth's rotation were slightly disturbed, and the position of its axis a little changed, the mobility of the ocean would soon bring it back to a permanent state of rotation about a fixed axis. He has also proved, that the attractions of the sun, moon, and planets, that volcanoes and earthquakes, that winds, rivers, and currents of the sea, can never have any sensible effect upon the place of the poles, or the duration of the day; and his conclusions are confirmed by records of ancient eclipses, from which it appears, that the length of the day cannot have changed, since the time of Hipparchus, by the hundredth part of a second.

Such an unchanged rate of rotation seems almost irreconcilable with the hypothesis, that the earth's primitive fluidity arose from its melting heat, that it is now constantly cooling, and therefore lessening its diameter, and increasing the velocity with which it turns upon its axis. But this hypothesis is powerfully sustained by thermometrical observations made in mines, which indicate a rapid increase of heat with that of depth, and demonstrate, independent of any hypothesis, that the earth is moving in a space much below its own temperature, so that it must be growing colder. Having, then, expressed the continual loss of heat of a cooling globe by a series of terms, which are of such a form as to disappear, one after another, in the course of time, La Place supposes our planet to have arrived at that state in which only one of these terms remains, of any sensible magnitude. This supposition may, as he says, be far from the truth, but it answers well enough to exhibit the slow rate at which the earth's temperature is diminishing, and the slight effect thus produced upon the length of the day, amounting to less than one three-hundredth of a second since the time of Hipparchus, and consequently, not to be detected in such observations as have been handed down to us. Another most remarkable result of La Place's calculation is, that the internal heat of the earth does not affect the temperature of its surface by more than one-fifth of a degree; and, therefore, when it is entirely cooled, its climates will not be the less adapted to the support of all the organized beings at present upon it.

Intimately connected with its figure is the law of the earth's attraction upon a point, either of its surface, or at a distance from it; and a concise history of the labors of geometers upon this subject is thus given by Bowditch.

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"The computation of the attraction of an ellipsoid, partially treated of by Newton, in his 'Principia,' was extended by Mc Laurin, in a geometrical solution remarkable for its elegance and simplicity, to the determination of the whole attraction upon any point, within or upon the surface of the ellipsoid of revolution. The same result was afterwards obtained by Lagrange, in an analytical form, by a change of coördinates. Legendre extended the investigation so as to embrace all points, whether within or without the surface of the ellipsoid. Finally La Place obtained the general attraction of any ellipsoid, in all cases, whether the principal axes were equal or unequal, and upon any point without or within the surface. Since the publication of his method, a great improvement has been made by Ivory, in which the computation of the attraction of any ellipsoid upon an external point is reduced, by his analysis, to the much more simple case, of finding the attraction of another ellipsoid, upon an internal point, or upon a point situated in the surface of the ellipsoid. Ivory has also treated the subject in a very elegant geometrical manner, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *Attraction*." — Vol. II. p. 11.

Most of the high questions of astronomy have stood far above the powers of Geometry; but this problem of calculating the attractions of an ellipsoid is peculiarly adapted to synthetical methods of research, and Geometry has for once, under the colors of England, striven with success against the mightier genius of analysis. The results of Maclaurin's geometrical solution were not reached by Algebra till the succeeding generation; and, notwithstanding the further advances of later mathematicians, the two most ingenious solutions which have yet appeared, offspring of the same mind, are of equal beauty; and, though one is geometrical, the other algebraical, neither can claim a decided superiority.

The method of calculation which La Place has used throughout his analysis of the figures and attractions of the planets, exhibit most strikingly his mighty power in wielding the weapons of Algebra, and forcing his way directly to his point with irresistible energy. They occupy the third book of the "*Mécanique Céleste*," which is about one half of the second volume, besides three chapters of the eleventh book contained in the fifth volume, and not translated by Bowditch. The difficulty of the various problems is reduced almost entirely to that of finding the sum of all the quotients obtained from dividing each particle of the spheroid

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by its distance from a fixed point ; and La Place has arranged this sum in a converging series of terms. The terms of this series are very remarkable in their properties and mutual relations, and, on account of their great utility in these and other inquiries, have been much noticed by geometers, and honored with the name of *La Place's Coëfficients.* Considerable objection has been made in regard to the generality of the results, which La Place obtained from them, because there are excepted cases to which they are not applicable. But Poisson has demonstrated, that they may be considered as embracing all cases which would practically arise ; and the uninitiated may be satisfied, when informed, that the excepted cases differ but infinitely little from those which are strictly within the limits of the investigation, so that the error must be wholly insensible ; and several formulas which are continually used in mathematics, without any question of their sufficient generality, are subject to precisely similar exceptions.

La Place's analysis, admirable as it is for its novelty and profoundness, is not altogether faultless. It has been exposed to repeated attacks, and contains two remarkable defects ; one of which was not detected till thirty years, and the other not till nearly fifty years, after their first publication. The former of them was pointed out by Lagrange, in a theorem, which La Place had supposed to be applicable to every law, but which fails beyond a certain limit. And this limit is, by a singular coincidence, the very law of Nature ; so that, if gravitation had decreased a little more rapidly, inversely, for instance, as the cube of the distance, the formula would have led to false conclusions. The second defect occurred in the fundamental formula of the whole calculation, and was much more recently discovered by Poisson, who observed, that La Place had run upon the very rock which he himself had surveyed, and committed the error against which he had expressly warned other mathematicians. But this error, vanishing in the course of further calculations, is, like the other, merely speculative ; and it is probably on account of this very surprising fact, that they both remained so long unnoticed. For, with all its boasted accuracy and apparent independence of man's physical powers, it appears, from the frequent mistakes and disputes of its votaries, that geometry cannot avoid the defects to which the science of an imperfect

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mind is ever liable ; and, requiring the promptings of observation to rouse and direct it to new efforts, it is slow to undertake the ungracious task of revising its labors, and detecting errors which have escaped the jealous eye of the practical astronomer.

Although the general form and attraction of the earth arise only from the gravitation of its particles, yet the composition of its different materials, and their character, as gases, fluids, or solids, depend upon the combination of an affinity or cohesion, which is insensible at perceptible distances, with the repulsive force of the caloric, with which each atom is surrounded. If the quantity of caloric is small, the repulsive force decreases more rapidly than the attraction, with an increase of distance ; and the molecules of a body, not being separated beyond the influence of their mutual attractions, are bound firmly together in the form of a solid ; and the only evidence of their want of contact is found in the compressibility or elasticity of the mass. By increasing the caloric, the particles are forced further apart, the body dilates, and, when they are so far removed as to cohere only by means of the attraction of each for the caloric of the other, they but slightly impede each other's motions, and La Place regards the body as reduced to a fluid state. But, as he observes, the surface must, in this case, be, at least for an imperceptible depth, much less dense than the interior of the body ; and be intermediate, in its character, between a liquid and a gas. The gaseous state is that, in which the quantity of caloric is so great as entirely to destroy the effect of the attractive forces ; and the fluid would soon be dissipated, if it were not restrained by the sides of the vessel which confines it. In this view of the subject, "all terrestrial phenomena depend," says La Place, "upon attractive and repulsive forces, which are only sensible at imperceptible distances, in the same way that celestial phenomena depend upon gravitation. I think, therefore, that the consideration of them should now become the great object of Mathematical Philosophy. It seems to me, that it would even be useful to introduce them into the demonstrations of mechanics, and banish the abstract ideas of lines without magnitude, and solids without porosity. I am convinced, by the trials which I have made, that, in thus conforming to Nature, these demonstrations might be pre-

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sented with undiminished simplicity and increased clearness."

Within ten years of his death, analysis took the most gigantic strides, in the direction thus marked out by this great geometer; and Cauchy's wonderful success in developing the laws of molecular action has gained for him an immortality by the side of La Place himself. But the glory of first discovering this immense continent in science belongs to Newton, although Providence chose to check his daring course, and reserve some regions to be conquered by his successors; and the honor of erecting upon it the standard of Analysis must be given to La Place. He hence deduced the equations for the motions of a gas, and found them to differ essentially from the formulas before used, inasmuch as they contain the forces which arise from the heat, developed in different portions of the moving gas, and their increased density. These forces do not, however, sensibly affect the motions of masses of air, such as the oscillations produced by the attractions of the sun and moon; and their influence is only perceptible in vibrations like those of sound. In the Newtonian theory of sound, no regard was had to the effect of heat, in thus increasing the elasticity of air during its vibrations; and the velocity which was obtained did not agree with that derived from experiment. Newton, and most of his followers, attributed the difference to the presence of foreign particles floating in the air, while Lagrange supposed the observations to be inaccurate; but La Place was strongly convinced that these explanations were incorrect, and was not satisfied till he had discovered the true cause of the error. He applied his formulas to the motion of light, supposing it to consist in the undulations of the solar atmosphere, and obtained a velocity which was not one seven-hundredth part of the actual velocity of light. Hence he inferred, that, if the undulatory theory were correct, the ethereal fluid must be powerfully compressed; and, as no cause for such a compression is to be found in the celestial spaces, he would seem disposed to reject this theory. But Cauchy's conclusions are far more satisfactory. Discarding the necessity of any compressing force, he makes it evident, that this immense velocity is satisfactorily accounted for, by supposing the particles of ether to be millions and millions of times smaller and closer together than those of gas; so that, if density is

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assumed to be proportionate to the number of particles in the unit of space, such an ether must be far more dense than the heaviest solid; but the exact reverse is the case, if the weight of the atoms are substituted for their number, in the definition of density. By combining an original and most powerful analysis with the happiest hypotheses, Cauchy has succeeded in establishing the wave theory of light upon a foundation not easy to be shaken. He has deduced from it the various laws of the propagation and polarization of light; and even the phenomenon of its dispersion, which had been regarded as an insurmountable objection to this theory, has not only yielded to his perseverance, but has become the strongest argument in its favor; since he has discovered the laws which regulate it, although they had been sought in vain by many great philosophers, and his results are most strikingly confirmed by their experiments. The theory of the emission of light has been regarded as consecrated by the favor of the founder of Optics; but this immortal genius was too often tormented by the galling attacks of his jealous rivals, to wander from the straight road of the Baconian philosophy, so far as to adopt such an unnecessary hypothesis. As an instance of his care, even in the use of words, he would not introduce the term "attraction" into his "Principia," without a caution to the reader, "Caveat lector, ne per hujus modi voces cogitet me speciem vel modum actionis, causam aut rationem physicam alicubi definire, vel centris (quæ sunt puncta mathematica) vires vere et physice tribuere." He observed facts and generalized them. Not suffering his fancy to direct his reason, his deductions are almost as indisputable as his observations, and his theories must endure as long as the sciences to which he gave birth.

Another case of corpuscular action, which was investigated by La Place, and is "remarkable from the variety and the singularity of the phenomena depending upon it," is, that of Capillary Attraction. Though Newton's wonderful instinct had led him to divine the laws which regulate some of the capillary phenomena, Clairaut was the only geometer, till the time of La Place, who had reduced them to a rigorous calculation. His great error, however, and one which he would have discovered, if he had extended his analysis to other cases, consisted in supposing the molecular forces to be sensible at perceptible distances. By avoiding this error, La

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Place succeeded in explaining all the phenomena with the most rigid accuracy; and the most peculiar and striking point of his theory is, perhaps, that he makes it chiefly depend upon a circumstance which had been altogether disregarded, and shows, that the concavity or convexity of the surface of a fluid, contained within capillary spaces, instead of being a mere secondary effect of the corpuscular action, is the principal cause of the rise of the fluid. This view of the subject is, however, a purely mathematical one; and a juster physical statement of it, corresponding, in our opinion, almost exactly to the ideas of Newton, and introduced into La Place's second Supplement, is, that the particles at the surface of the fluid in contact with the capillary walls, being raised above their level by the attraction of the walls, exert their attraction again upon those which are near them; and this action continues until the weight of the elevated fluid balances the attracting force, which tends to raise it higher; but, as the uppermost link of a suspended chain must bear the whole weight of the chain, so the weight of the raised fluid must be proportionate to the elevating power of the attractive force exerted by the walls upon the adjacent particles, that is, to the horizontal circuit of the walls. Vague reasoning must not, however, usurp the place of accurate calculation; the difficulty of solving the capillary problems may be better understood by observing, that they depend upon the very principles involved in determining the figure of the earth; and we may remark, that we think Ivory would find no little difficulty in applying to this case his new principle.

"In order," says Mr. Pickering, in his noble Eulogy before the American Academy, "that the importance of this subject may be understood, and that a just view may be taken of the extent of it in its various relations, we must reflect for a moment upon some of the numerous modes, in which this species of attraction exhibits itself.

"The most usual form in which it has been the subject of observation and experiment, is, in the ascent of water, or any other fluid, in *capillary* tubes, or between two plates of glass placed near each other in a vessel containing the fluid. The same principle, however, governs the movements of fluids in numberless other cases; some of which are so familiar to us, that they cease to attract our notice. For example; when we fill a glass or other vessel with water, if the vessel is already wet, the water will be drawn upwards round the sides of the vessel,

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and present a *concave* surface ; but if, on the contrary, the vessel is entirely dry, the water will rise in it with a *convex* surface, and may, in popular language, be heaped up even above the brim of the vessel. From the same cause, a light body floating on the water near the side of the vessel, will suddenly be drawn into contact with it ; and two bodies lying on the surface, upon being brought towards each other, will suddenly rush together. In the same way, too, we see the rain forming itself into pellucid drops, and hanging from the under surfaces of bodies, or standing in imperfect globules on their upper surfaces ; and the same principle manifests itself in the form of

> 'the dew-drops, which the sun
> Impearls on every leaf and every flower ;'

and in

> 'the gentle tear let fall
> From crystal sluce.' *

"In short, the phenomena of capillary attraction are so constantly manifesting themselves, and under such various circumstances, that they present to the philosophical observer questions of singular interest and extraordinary difficulty. These questions are most elaborately and profoundly investigated by La Place and his commentator.

"Among other investigations of Dr. Bowditch in relation to this subject, I ought not to omit the fact, that he has most thoroughly examined and analyzed the very celebrated work of the present day called the *New Theory of Capillary Attraction*, by the eminent French mathematician, M. Poisson ; and has shown, by numerous examples from M. Poisson's work, that, profound and acute as that author is, he has, under a different form of notation and with vast labor, only arrived at results which are either identical with those before obtained by La Place under his own form of notation, or which may be easily obtained from them ; and that the supposed discoveries announced in the *New Theory* have not in reality advanced this branch of science. This portion of Dr. Bowditch's work, when published, will, in the opinion of our mathematicians, attract the notice of men of science in Europe as strongly, perhaps, as any part of his labors." — pp. 72 – 75.

Almost the only essential difference between the theories of La Place and Poisson arises from the consideration of the diminution of density near the surface of a fluid, which is neglected by La Place, as of no importance, and expressly introduced into the calculations of Poisson.

" * Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' "

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"This change of density produces a corresponding change in the value of the capillary intensity; but as this quantity can be found only from actual experiments, and not from the analytical expression, it leaves the results of La Place's theory unimpaired in all the formulas depending on this quantity."—Bowditch's *Translation, &c.*, Vol. IV. p. 687.

Poisson attempted to render his researches much more general than those of La Place; he was, however, compelled to omit term after term, until the limits of "the new theory" were narrowed down to those adopted in the "*Mécanique Céleste.*"

Returning, then, to the earth's figure, we shall pass over the small inequalities of its surface to the still smaller irregularities of figure arising from the undulations of the ocean. How minute these are, compared with the magnitude of our globe, we can conjecture from the fact, that the ocean itself is but as the moisture of the shower upon the surface of the apple. The idea of attributing the ebb and flow of the sea to the influence of the sun and moon originated with Kepler, but was first subjected to calculation by Newton, who supposed the sea to assume, at each instant, the form of perfect equilibrium. This feature of his theory was adopted as the basis of all calculations upon the subject, till La Place considered the problem in its true light, and applied to it the general principles for determining the motions of fluids. But the impossibility of completing his analysis, by the aid of the limited observations which he obtained, compelled La Place to leave it in an imperfect state; far superior, however, to the contempt with which an English philosopher has thought proper to visit it.

"La Place's solution," says Whewell, "besides being obtained by means of a precarious assumption, rests upon several arbitrary hypotheses, fatal to it, even as a first approximation; and, I believe it will be found, leaves out of consideration an essential portion of the forces. To obtain any useful result, the question must be taken up afresh and treated in another manner. I hope some mathematician will be found able and willing to execute this task. But, in the mean time, I may be permitted to observe, that what has been already done in the discussion of tide observations, and in bringing to light the empirical laws of the phenomena, has entirely altered the position of this branch of science with respect to the mathematical theory. A little while ago the theory was in advance of ob-

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servation ; at present observation is in advance of theory. A very few years since, the equilibrium theory and the La Placian theory were in a condition to assign laws regulating the changes of the times and heights under given astronomical circumstances, and it had not been shown from observation whether these laws were obeyed. We can now state what the agreement and disagreement are between such theoretical laws and the facts ; and we call upon the mathematician to substitute for these two theories, both confessedly false, some other, which shall come nearer to the true state of the case, and, by that means, nearer to the laws of the phenomena. The performance of this task is requisite for the completion of the Newtonian theory of the universe."

Notwithstanding this sweeping condemnation, we cannot cease to look upon La Place's theory as one of the finest monuments of his genius, and as being fundamentally correct. Judged by the narrow standard of its discrepancy with observations, it undoubtedly is deficient ; and, by the same rule, Newton's lunar theory would have merited the reproaches of Flamsteed, instead of the generous admiration with which it was regarded by La Place. The subject of the tides does, indeed, require a fresh examination, in order to satisfy the recent observations due to the efforts of Whewell, for which, and for his successful exertions in reducing them to empirical laws, he richly deserved the medal of the Royal Society. The equilibrium theory, as developed by Bernouilli, may, likewise, be better adapted, from its simplicity and neatness, to the mind which is seeking for these laws, and has not the comprehensive grasp, or the mathematical power, to enter upon a profound analysis of one of the most complicated questions of astronomy. The additions which it is continually receiving, must, however, soon render it too cumbrous a machine even for this purpose ; and geometers will be compelled to return to the direct course of investigation, as first explored by La Place.

Were the earth a perfect sphere, its equator would always cut the heavens in the same plane, and its axis be directed to the same polar star ; and if the polar axis were to be assumed as the diameter of this sphere, the excess of the terrestrial spheroid might be detached from it, and collected in a ring at the equator. The attraction of the sun would draw the plane of the ring from that of the equator, and the points of its intersection with the ecliptic would retrograde contin-

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ually, according to a law easily determined from the similar motions of the nodes of the lunar orbit. Such a backward motion, though much retarded by the mass of the earth, which the ring must carry with it, is still sensible, and constitutes the great phenomenon of the precession of the equinoxes. The attraction of the moon produces a similar effect; and there are also some inequalities in the phenomena, which have been thoroughly investigated by D'Alembert, Euler, and La Place.

If we now proceed from our own globe to the other bodies of the solar system, we find them all, so far as we can observe them, possessed of oblate figures, corresponding to their respective velocities of rotation, and moving in circular orbits about the central source of light and heat. Upon a careful examination of their motions, it is found that they are not uniform, nor exactly circular; and we admire the genius which detected, amidst their great inequalities, an average and permanent regularity. From Kepler's celebrated laws, to derive the law of gravitation, would appear a most simple application of the Fluxions of Newton; so simple, indeed, that the mathematician of the present day can only estimate the magnitude of the stride, from the number of gigantic minds which could not accomplish it. But the law of gravitation, once established, was soon found to contain within itself a perfect and entire system, altogether above the approximations of Kepler, and embracing all the complicated phenomena of the heavens, while the latter would only be strictly true if the planets exerted no influence upon each other. Drawn by their mutual attractions, however, out of their elliptical orbits, the planets so disturb each others' motions, that the exact determination of their motions is no longer possible. Theory is forced to lower its aim, and endeavour to arrive at approximations, whose inaccuracies may be so minute, that the nicest observer cannot detect them. To arrive at this point, which has not by any means been universally attained, it has been found sufficient, in most cases, to calculate, separately, the effect of each small disturbing force; and thus, the perturbations arising from each planet cannot be confounded with the others. By this means the problem is evidently simplified, but still not enough so to admit of a complete solution; and the most delicate tact is required, to choose the most rapid system of approximation, and to

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select, among an infinite mass of terms, those which are of sensible magnitude.

The difficulty of this selection is much increased by the facts, that terms originally diminutive, will sometimes in the course of the calculations, acquire equally minute divisors, so that the quotients may be quite too large to be rejected. One of the most striking instances of such an effect is observed in the reciprocal perturbations of Saturn and Jupiter. The mean motions of these two planets are almost commensurable, five times the mean motion of Saturn being nearly equal to twice that of Jupiter; so that the difference between these two products, being very small, augments considerably the terms of which it is a divisor, and the corresponding inequalities, instead of being almost insensible, are the most important of all those observed in the motions of these planets. A tolerably correct physical explanation of this phenomenon is derived from the consideration of the great effect produced by a comparatively small force acting constantly, at the most favorable intervals; a familiar, though homely example of which, may be found in the often ludicrous difference between the skilful and unskilful attempt to turn up the heavy church bell to its unstable position of equilibrium. By discovering the simple ratio between the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn, La Place was enabled to account for those irregularities in their motions, which had before seemed quite inconsistent with the law of universal gravitation, but are now regarded as one of its most striking proofs. "Such," says La Place, "has been the lot of Newton's brilliant discovery, converting every obstacle into a new source of triumph; the surest characteristic of the true system of Nature." If the mean motions of these planets had been exactly commensurable, their perturbations would have been greatly increased, and they would have presented a phenomenon of the highest analytical interest, and of which the solar system contains but a single instance. This might easily have been the case; for, if the small variation from perfect commensurability had been a little less than one half its present value, the mutual attractions of the planets would soon have caused it to vanish entirely.

Jupiter forms, with his satellites, a solar system in miniature; and the frequent eclipses of the satellites enable the observer to determine their orbits with considerable accuracy,

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and to watch their progress through all those changes, which the planets take ages to accomplish. A thorough analysis of their motions, which was first undertaken by Lagrange, was remarkable, as not being limited to the separate consideration of each disturbing influence, but as combining them all together; "a point," says Bowditch, "of the utmost importance, since upon it depends the law regulating the motions of the three inner satellites." These laws, called La Place's, because he first detected them, are of the class of commensurabilities between the mean motions, which are so important in the theory of Jupiter and Saturn; and they contain the single instance, but just alluded to, of a perfectly exact ratio.

Among all the perturbations of the celestial motions, none, however, are more interesting to the terrestrial observer, than those of the earth's satellite; and they are much augmented by the powerful disturbing influence of the sun. The few of them which Newton had succeeded in calculating, were enough to confirm, in a most important manner, the law of gravitation, though the great bulk were left unexplained; and even now there are several points in the lunar theory, about which the minds of geometers are not at rest. The difference between the values of the same terms, as given by each of the great astronomers, La Place, Plana, Lubbock, and Poisson, is sometimes most remarkable, and seemingly inconsistent with the admired accuracy of mathematical calculations. Thus one equation, determined from observations by Damoiseau to be greater than six hundred seconds, was at first reduced by the computations of Plana, to less than five seconds, though he afterwards raised it to a value which somewhat exceeded that found by Damoiseau. But even such a failure of theory must not be regarded with uncharitable surprise and severity; "for," as Lubbock remarks, "when we consider the enormous number of terms which are necessary to be taken into account, and how difficult it is altogether to avoid error in numerical calculations, it is hardly to be expected, that the result can be entirely free from error."

Most of the numerous inequalities of the lunar motions have been deduced from observations before they were recognised by theory, and analysis has often been sadly perplexed to explain them. One of the most singular instances, is that of an equation inserted by Mason, in his Lunar Tables, which seemed so entirely inconsistent with the laws of gravitation, that it

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was originally rejected by astronomers, although they were ready to admit the superior accuracy of his tables in other respects. From a happy application of his favorite theory of probabilities, La Place decided, that the argument in favor of the existence of such an equation was so strong, that he resolved to seek its origin. His search was successful. He found it to arise from the oblateness of the earth; and his investigations led him to the discovery of another similar inequality, which had escaped the notice of observers, though indisputably confirmed by later observations. He also reversed the problem, and made use of the equation as the most accurate means of determining the oblateness. But analysis is thought not always to have been so successful, and a single equation is still adopted by some observers, which remains wholly unexplained. Its period is a very long one, and is not exactly determined. Poisson has demonstrated, that it cannot arise from the direct action of the sun or of the planets upon the moon; nor from the action of Venus upon the earth, which produces, as Airy has shown, a sensible equation in the earth's motions; nor from the terrestrial oblateness or irregularity of figure. He, therefore, doubts its existence, and regards the observations from which it is deduced, as either too recent, or too inaccurate, to be depended upon for determining so long an inequality.

No more important question has ever agitated the minds of astronomers, than that regarding the perfect accuracy of the law of gravitation. Bessel seems to consider it as a most doubtful point; for he found observation not unfrequently to differ from calculation, by five seconds or more; quite too much, as he says, for an error of observation; full as much, indeed, in the present state of science, as were the eight minutes, at the time of Tycho Brahe, which gave Kepler the means of reforming the whole of astronomy. But the history of astronomy is filled with such doubts, which have all vanished before the progressive advances of analysis; and so intimate is the connexion between theory and observation, that they must for ever be, alternately, taking the lead in the march of science. The earlier theories of the moon were defaced by errors of not less than seven or eight minutes; and, though they are now reduced to as many seconds, it was actually proposed by Clairaut to introduce, into the law of gravitation, a term, which should vary with the inverse cube of

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the distance ; but he himself soon proved, that this term was not required. Again, it was found, that the mass of Jupiter, as deduced from his attractions upon Pallas, and upon Encke's comet, was quite different from that derived from the distance of his satellites, or from La Place's theory of the perturbations of Saturn. Such a difference could only be accounted for by supposing the attractive power of Jupiter to be less for his satellites and for Saturn, than for the comets and the telescopic planets ; and the result of this hypothesis would be, that the power of gravitation varied, like the chemical affinities, with the nature of the different attracting substances. But, from a new and more correct measurement of the distances of the satellites, a result has been obtained, which agrees almost exactly with that derived from Pallas and the comet ; and, upon a review of the theory of Jupiter and Saturn, Pontecoulant has most unexpectedly found, that the chief term of the great inequality was taken by La Place with the wrong sign, and the correcting of this error has given the same value of Jupiter's mass as that otherwise obtained, and removed all the apparent anomaly. The arguments, indeed, in favor of the perfect uniformity of the gravitating influence are founded upon so many nice experiments and accurate calculations, as to be almost irresistible. Not the slightest difference can be detected in the attractive power of the earth for the moon and for any of the substances found upon its own surface, by means of the most delicate experiments made with pendulums, composed of every variety of material. The distance of the sun can be computed with so great accuracy from the motions of the moon, that the difference between the attractive powers of the sun for the earth and its satellite, cannot be the one-millionth part of the whole force ; and a similar result with regard to all the substances of the solar system may be deduced from the universal agreement of observations with the theory based upon the law of gravitation.

Another interesting inquiry concerns the stability of the solar system. The planets move, at present, in orbits nearly circular, and almost in the same plane ; and La Place professed to have demonstrated, that this would always be the case. But Lagrange and Bowditch* objected to his demonstration, considering it to be "satisfactory for the three great

* See, on this subject, an article from the pen of Dr. Bowditch, in the *North American Review*, Vol. XX. pp. 309 *et seq.*

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planets Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, but not for the other planets, whose orbits, for aught that is proved to the contrary, may be very eccentrical," and depart very much from the same plane. But these eminent philosophers have, in our opinion, taken a partial view of La Place's argument, and have not done it full justice. They have, inadvertently, passed over his first step, which will be found, upon a close examination, to be of essential importance; and in which he proves, that, if there be any limit whatever to the increase of the eccentricity of either of the planets, it must be a very small limit; so that the only object of the remainder of the demonstration, is, to prove that there is a limit, without any regard to its magnitude, as the objections appear to imply. Viewed in this light, his reasoning seems hardly to admit of dispute. But we think that, in the arguments upon both sides, the physical restrictions of the question have been too much overlooked. Thus it is said, that "the orbits may become very eccentrical, or even parabolic." But how is it possible, by any increase of eccentricity, for an ellipse, whose greater axis has been long before proved to be invariable, to degenerate into a parabola, which has an infinite axis? On the contrary, when the ellipticity augments so as to become unity, the orbit, instead of changing into a parabola, would be reduced to a straight line, terminating in the sun; and, by a further increase of ellipticity, the orbit would become imaginary, unless the planet happened to be at one of the extremities of its orbit, at the precise instant of this increase, against which the probability is infinitely great. It is, therefore, almost physically impossible, for the eccentricity to become greater than unity, and the second part of La Place's demonstration seems to be nearly superfluous.

But there is a force in constant operation, which is directly opposed to the eternal duration of the solar system. The constant resistance of the ether or the light which pervades all space, small though it be, must at length destroy the motions of the planets, and cause them to fall into the sun. Ages, whose vast extent and number the mind of man cannot comprehend, must indeed roll by, before such an effect can result from so slight a cause; and yet it is as inevitable as the wearing away of the stone under the incessant dropping of the water. And that there is such a sure principle of destruction in our world, affords an irresistible proof, that the

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system cannot have existed in its present form beyond a certain time ; but it must have had a beginning, a creation, and a Creator.

It might, however, be doubted, whether the ether were a resisting medium, if it had not been demonstrated by the retardation of Encke's comet. The comets, which fly in every direction around the sun, are so very light, that they have not, in any appreciable degree, disturbed the motions of the planets, though the fact that they are not destitute of weight, and are subject to Newton's great law, is obvious from the form of their orbits, and the great perturbations which they have suffered, from the planetary attractions. Thus the time of revolution of the comet of 1770 was diminished more than two days by the influence of the earth, and its orbit was so entirely changed during its near approaches to Jupiter, in 1767, and 1779, that it probably never was visible from the earth before that time, and never will be again ; and yet its reciprocal action upon these planets was wholly insensible, and it passed directly amongst Jupiter and its satellites, without having produced the slightest alteration in their motions. The computation of the orbits of the comets, originating with Newton, has been most successfully developed by the labors of Lagrange, Legendre, La Place, Olbers, Gauss, Ivory, and Lubbock ; and their various methods have been collected by Bowditch into the splendid Appendix to the third volume of his translation. He has there given most of the great improvements made by these geometers, "in the calculation of the orbit of a planet or comet, moving in an ellipsis, parabola, or hyperbola," and he has added more than one hundred pages of beautifully printed auxiliary Tables, to lighten the task of computation ; "some of which are new, the others have been varied in their forms, to render them more simple in their uses and applications, and none of them have heretofore been published in this country." In the commentary upon the tenth book, contained in the fourth volume, Bowditch gives the calculations, which have been made regarding the retardation experienced from the resistance of the ether by Encke's comet, the result of which is, that "the time of its periodical revolution, which is a little over twelve hundred days, will be decreased about one-tenth of a day in each revolution ; and the mean distance will be decreased about one sixteen-thousandth part."

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Leaving, now, the solar system, of which we are but insignificant particles, we will travel to the glorious suns, which are diffused throughout all space. Passing over their differences of color and splendor, with their remarkable periodical changes, and that sudden appearance and disappearance of others, which indicates the existence of opaque celestial bodies, perhaps not smaller or less numerous than the visible stars themselves, we proceed to a phenomenon, at first sight of much less apparent interest, the grouping of the stars together in immense clusters, which are separated from each other at distances prodigiously greater than the dimensions of the cluster. The group to which we belong, consists of the Milky Way, and the stars immediately around us. Among the other clusters, some are so remote, that the most powerful telescope does not enable the observer to distinguish the different stars, while the cloudy appearance of others indicates an imperfect state of formation; and the elder Herschel has traced their progress from the state of mere nebulæ; not that he has witnessed a change in any single case, but "just as in a forest the growth of the trees may be traced by means of the individuals of different ages." He observed, in one part of the heavens, a mass of mere nebulous vapor, of uniform density; in another, this vapor was feebly condensed about a slightly brilliant point, or about a multitude of such points; then, again, the points increased in brilliancy until the condensation was at last carried so far, that the atmosphere of each nucleus separated from the rest; and multiple nebulæ were formed, consisting of brilliant nucleuses, surrounded each by an atmosphere. The condensation still went on, until at last a sun was formed, surrounded by an immense atmosphere, or a set of two or more suns revolving about each other like the double, triple, &c. stars, or a group of suns, such as are the Pleiades. This was the state of our system, ages and ages before the commencement of the Mosaic creation, and its probable progress during this immense interval, first developed by La Place in the "*Système du Monde*," is the most magnificent conception that was ever formed in the mind of a philosopher. He chose, however, to diffuse around it the foul vapors of atheism, and it is now dreaded by the Christian sage, like the proud city amid the miasmata of death.

The substance of the sun could hardly have separated from those of the neighbouring suns, without acquiring some small

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rotary motion, and, as its dimensions lessened with its increasing density, the rotary velocity must also have increased, by the known laws of dynamics. It is thus, that the angular velocity of a sling is rapidly augmented by allowing it to wind itself about the finger, or that the rotary motion given to the water is greatly accelerated as it flows through the small hole in the bottom of a cistern. The sun must, at last, turn so swiftly, that the centrifugal force of the outer zone, overcoming the gravitation, must cause it to separate from the inner mass, and form a ring about the sun, like that of Saturn. By further condensation, new rings are successively thrown off, each of which gradually draws together its particles into a nucleus and forms a planet; or, if there are several nucleuses, there must be as many smaller planets, which, like Ceres, Pallas, Juno, and Vesta, will be at nearly the same distance from the centre of motion. Since the particles of the ring's inner surface are nearer the sun, their velocity must be less than those of the outer surface, so that when the planet is formed, it must have a rotation, which, increasing as the planet condenses, may cause it to part with its own rings, and form its own satellites.

This grand but simple view of the process, which the Deity has adopted in framing the universe, bears upon its front the stamp of truth and of divinity; it necessarily leads to a system, which the law of gravitation renders permanent; and it accounts for all the leading phenomena of astronomy. Hence it is, that the planets and satellites revolve and rotate in the same direction, and almost in the same plane; that their orbits are nearly circular; and that their densities are less the further they are from the sun. Hence, too, it is, that the satellites always turn the same face to their primaries; for if, after the formation of a satellite, it were not to condense, its time of rotation would be exactly the same with that of its revolution; and the extremely gradual condensation to which it is liable, cannot prevent its assuming such a form under the attraction of the primary, that this attraction must in future restrain the rotary motion, and, compelling it to turn its elongated face to the primary, will only allow it to be affected by the phenomenon of libration. The disturbing influence of the unequal density of different parts of the nebulæ must affect the whole course of these phenomena, particularly in the earlier stages of the formation, and must cause such irregularities as these; that the

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density of Uranus is greater than that of the two next inferior planets; and the planes of its equator, and of the orbits of its satellites, are nearly perpendicular to that of its own orbit. If, when a zone separated, indeed, it were more dense on one side of the sun's equator than on the other, the planet's rotation and revolution would be performed in different planes; and a little reflection will show, that the inclinations of the orbits would be the most affected by such a cause in the case of the inferior planets, and those of the equators in the superior planets.

The comets, in this system, are themselves smaller nebulæ, with nucleuses of their own, which have come near enough to the sun, to be subject to the laws of its attraction, and revolve in very eccentrical orbits; and, as there is no general reason to influence the primitive directions of their motions, we find their orbits inclined at every variety of angle to the sun's equator. "If, finally, in the zones successively abandoned by the solar atmosphere, there are atoms too volatile to unite with each other, or with the heavenly bodies, they must continue to circulate about the sun, and offer all the appearances of the zodiacal light, without opposing any sensible resistance to the planetary motions."

But inquiries regarding a state of the world, so far removed from its present one, are of no practical value, and must rank with those questions of curiosity, upon which much labor has been expended by mathematicians. And a similar remark may be extended, with some qualification, to almost every part of the "*Mécanique Céleste*," or of the "Principia." For, humiliating as is the confession, it must be admitted, that practical astronomy is not dependent upon theory, and that the observer, with only a small degree of elementary mathematics, can deduce from his observations empirical laws sufficient for all his purposes. Judged, then, by the narrow standard of utility, which is generally adopted, and has been pronounced to be at the very foundation of the Baconian philosophy, transcendental mathematics can offer but little to redeem it from the reproach of being a misletoe science, uselessly absorbing the highest energies of the most powerful minds. Even its noblest fruit seems to be blasted; its Newton was sensitive, fretful, and almost mean; and its La Place was an atheist.

But the character of the votary must not condemn the sci-

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ence ; and the character of the science must be referred to its true standard, that of knowledge. If we would, then, search deeply into the laws of nature, we find, that the inner doors of physical philosophy must be opened with the keys of geometry ; and that even the trials of skill, and the mere questions of curiosity, in which mathematicians have delighted, are the best possible preparation for the more serious contests of science, and have again and again led the way to the most brilliant investigations. It was thus, that Lagrange reduced the whole of Mechanics to a problem of Isoperimetry, and made its solution depend upon an analysis, which had before been admired and prosecuted only as an exercise of geometrical gymnastics, on account of its singular beauty, and the remarkable simplicity of its results. As far, indeed, as the great object of life and of knowledge, the improvement of the mind, is concerned, the humblest subjects may furnish inquiries no less useful than the most sublime. The path of the arrow is as difficult of calculation as that of the comet, and the celebrated problem of the precession of the equinoxes is of the same class with that of the spinning of the top.

What difference is there, then, between the intellectual importance of the investigations, except that the planet and the comet are observed with care, while the top and the arrow are the playthings of a thoughtless child ? And what difference does it make to the mathematician, whether the data of his problem are taken from the external world, or from the creative power of his own mind ? Suppose that the telescope had never been invented, and that there had never been any means for making accurate observations of the heavenly bodies ; and suppose that, as a subject of intellectual exercise and curiosity, the mind of Newton, or of La Place, had devoted itself to the calculation of what would have been the motions of a system of bodies united by the law of gravitation ; would the labor have been less worthy of his genius, and less fitted to develope his mental powers ? And suppose that he had prosecuted his investigations still further, and, applying his analysis to other laws of attraction than that of nature, had attempted to discover what law and what arrangement would have led to a permanent system, free from all great irregularities ; would not this mere question of curiosity have deserved the attention even of such a mind ? Could any intellectual exercise be thought of, more nearly allied to that

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required at the creation? Is it not the very labor which would absorb the powers of the archangel, to whom should be intrusted the sublime task of building a world? Such an inquiry has actually been instituted by geometers, and they have almost established the proposition, that, with none but the present law of gravitation, and with no other arrangement, would the solar system have been permanent. We regard this grand result as alone worthy of all the time, and all the genius, which have been devoted to mathematics.

Dr. Bowditch was able to superintend the passage of his great work through the press, as far as to the one thousandth page of the fourth volume, his disease (a *schirrus* of the stomach), though at times extremely painful, not having compelled him wholly to intermit his studious labors till within a few days of his death. That event took place on the 16th day of March, 1838, when he had nearly completed his sixty-fifth year. Tributes of respect for his services and character were offered from numerous quarters, on the part of corporations and societies of which he had been a member, and of various learned bodies. The American Academy, the President and Fellows of Harvard University, the Faculty of Yale College, the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, the Massachusetts Life Insurance Company (of which, from its foundation, he had been the executive officer), the East India Marine Society, and other associations, held meetings, and passed resolutions expressive of their sympathy with the bereaved family, and of their sense of the public loss. Measures were taken for erecting a monument to his memory; and eulogies were pronounced by the Reverend Mr. Young, in the church where he habitually worshipped; by Judge White, at the request of the Corporation of Salem, of which city he was a native, and during most of his life an inhabitant; and by Mr. Pickering, before the American Academy, of which, for several years and down to the time of his death, he was the presiding officer.

These Eulogies treat at large the life and character of their subject, and preserve, what posterity will gratefully receive, a trustworthy and full description, both of the philosopher and of the man. The learned oration of Mr. Pickering embraces a biographical outline, but is chiefly remarkable for its thorough and luminous analysis of Dr. Bowditch's scientific

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publications, exhibiting, in a comprehensive and discriminating sketch, the nature and value of his labors, as well as the actual condition of that sublime department of study, on which they were employed. The discourse of Judge White, — a composition of rare excellence in its kind, — traces, step by step, the progress of this great mind, satisfactorily indicating the stern but effective discipline under which it was trained, the traits which characterized its eminence, the principles which controlled and gave success to its action, and the variety of beneficent influences exerted by it upon society; — subjects which, in the eulogy of Mr. Young (the earliest and most copious of the three), are also felicitously treated, and illustrated by a large collection of interesting facts and anecdotes.

We have not proposed to ourselves to offer so much as a brief sketch of the life and character of this distinguished individual, thinking it to be rather the office of a work like ours, to dwell upon his services to science. But, while there are few who will read his writings, there are many who may profit by the record of his virtues, and of the principles and habits which contributed to his greatness; and, little inclined as we are to the formal inculcation of a moral, we yet find ourselves unwilling to dismiss the subject, without giving a few words to some of those facts and traits, which, so judiciously exhibited in the biographical notices we have specified, make them fruitful of the best instruction. It was from an humble condition in early life, that (in part, no doubt, by force of extraordinary natural endowments, but also by force of a principled energy, alert to take advantage of every opportunity of improvement, and refusing to be depressed by any discouraging circumstances,) Dr. Bowditch rose to be one of the most eminent persons of his country, and of the time. The son of a working cooper, enjoying no advantages of instruction in early childhood beyond those of attendance on a public school, and those only till he was ten years of age, he was, two or three years after, apprenticed to a ship-chandler, and continued in this service through his minority; at the end of which time he went to sea, as an inferior officer in a merchant vessel. Meanwhile, by the diligent use of such fragments of time as he was able to redeem for study, from regular daily employment of so different a kind, he had, (besides laying up stores in general literature, which would have

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done no discredit to a youth devoted to that pursuit) made such proficiency in his favorite science, as enabled him, three years after, to publish a work, the "Practical Navigator," scarcely surpassed in usefulness by any of the time, and immediately driving all others of the same class out of circulation. Being unable to purchase books, he borrowed and copied such as he most needed, possessing himself thus, before he was fourteen years old, of a long treatise on Algebra, another on Geometry, and a third on Conic Sections. At fifteen, making all the necessary calculations, he had arranged an Almanac, complete in all its parts. Obtaining, by a fortunate accident, a copy of Newton's "Principia," he learned Latin by himself, that he might read the work, and made a translation of the whole of it.

Entering upon an active life of business, Dr. Bowditch made four voyages to the East Indies, and one to Europe, diligently devoting his leisure at sea to his favorite inquiries, which, however, with a liberal sense of the value of other knowledge, he diversified by studies of a more generally attractive kind. Retiring from a seafaring life, at the age of thirty, he assumed an office, that of President of an Insurance Company in his native town, which, to most men, would have seemed to afford sufficient employment for their time; and from this, at the end of twenty years, he was transferred to the place of Actuary of the Massachusetts Life Insurance Company, which he held till the time of his death. It was by an economy of the leisure hours of a life thus engaged, that Dr. Bowditch won for himself one of the highest names in science, which the nineteenth century boasts.

Nor was it by any jealous and churlish economy of those hours. No man acknowledged more readily the claims of friendly intercourse; no man welcomed more cordially the interruptions which they bring. His study was his parlour, where no posture of a hard, unfinished problem ever caused the unexpected guest to feel, that his visit was untimely. No abstraction ever revealed the toiling or wearied mind. A gay buoyancy of spirits, and a prompt interest in whatever subject was presented, showed, whenever you found the man, that you found him before his work, and at his ease. Early hours, an utter abstinence from mere waste of time, and temperate habits which preserved the mind in perpetual vigor, permitted a life crowded with labor and its fruits to be, in

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an equal degree, tranquil, free from care, and accessible to incidental engagements.

Along with great heartiness, Dr. Bowditch had its usual attendant, a warm impetuosity of character; and, though no "rude and boisterous captain of the sea," there may have been occasions when a happier combination would have been produced, had the same measure of the *fortiter in re*, been blended with more of the *suaviter in modo*. But his high and rigid integrity was beyond question. His punctilious justice in the conduct of complicated affairs was a model for imitation. If he had prejudices, he had candor to welcome and weigh the evidence which would dispel them; and anger he carried "as the flint bears fire"; the spark was quick, but it was momentary.

Acquiring what in a frugal community may deserve to be called wealth, he had the high wisdom to know its worth; that is, to know its uses. He cared for it as making him independent, and enabling him to be useful. In his life, as well as at his death, he gave freely from it to worthy objects of benevolence, public and private; and he expended a large portion of it, without any hope of remuneration, on the publication of his great work; declining, from a nice sense of honor, the urgent proposals of a learned society (the American Academy), and of private friends, that he would permit it to be issued at their charge. Of his time, his counsels, and his influence, he was as liberal, for good objects, as of his money.

Proof against less mischievous delusions, the madness of the "undevout astronomer" had no place in his clear and sober mind. The Christian faith, the support of his principles through a long, active life, was a sufficient source of consolation to him during the well-understood approach of death. Of cant and pretension, no man ever had less. But he had as little respect for the affectation which suppresses and disguises cherished sentiments, as for that which obtrudes and parades them. He thought it due to the truths which sustained him, to allow it to be known, that it was on them that he leaned; and the chamber of his decline was a scene of the sublimest instruction for whoever would know, with what serene, magnanimous satisfaction, the spirit, which has well done the first part of its work, may pass on to its higher destinies.

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ART. V. — *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land.* By GEORGE STEPHENS. Galignani. Paris: August, 1838. 2 vols. 12mo.

MANY editions of this work in the United States, two at least in England, and one in France, attest the favor, with which it has been received by the reading public; a favor honestly earned and worthily bestowed. We can speak of a large portion of the route pursued by the author, from actual observation; and, after following his footsteps in his pilgrimage, we have accompanied him in his book, among the same scenes, renewing, from his vivid description, almost the freshness of first impressions. He has admirable qualities for a traveller, and for a writer of travels. He possesses just enthusiasm enough to desire to see every thing; and, while he surveys the scenes of ancient story, sacred and profane, with those kindling emotions, which Providence in its wisdom has given to us to feel, when we stand on a spot renowned for the great events of which it has been the theatre, he does not yield to that morbid sensibility, which forgets, that change is not the accidental lot of this state of being, but a part of the constitution of nature, "still educing good" from decrepitude, as from manhood, and preparing the bud of spring to replace the autumnal leaf, fallen, because made to fall.

This precious gift of association is one of the most enviable powers, with which Providence has endowed us; and an inhabitant of the new world can well appreciate its full intensity. If his lot has been cast upon a continent, whose early revolutions are for ever shrouded from human view, and where no ancient monument exists to mark the trials and triumphs and disasters of man, we find, amidst all this, but another proof of that system of compensation, which pervades the universe, in the strength of the impressions he experiences, in the Eastern world, from the first view of scenes hallowed by the recollection of the persons and the events, that have rendered them memorable. We cross the ocean, bearing in our memory the treasures of ancient history, and deeply fraught with the lessons it teaches; but as yet untouched by that magic fire of association, to be kindled only when we stand where those have stood, whose deeds will be immortal. In every part of Europe, there is some battle-field, with its appropriate

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story, and with its succession of events, prosperous or adverse ; some spot identified with the life or death of a soldier, a statesman, a patriot, or a writer, whose name is as "familiar in our mouths as household words." They, who are conversant with these scenes from their infancy, can never fully estimate the sensations of the transatlantic pilgrim, who comes for the first time to deposite his tribute of gratitude to the memory of those who have ennobled human nature, when he finds himself covered by the same sky, and surrounded by the same unchanging objects, hill, valley, plain, rock, and river.

Our author has also a spirit of perseverance, which seems to have surmounted many serious difficulties, even when he was depressed by sickness. He exhibits, too, a power of observation, without which a traveller will always find a country barren, from Dan to Beersheba. There is, perhaps, no mental faculty more unequally distributed than this. To have eyes, but to see not, is an infliction far more common than is usually supposed. If we glance rapidly over the various Tours, Journals, and Voyages, which the press is continually giving forth, we shall not fail to be struck with the difference they present in this characteristic. Some men seem to seize, as if by a species of intuition, the true points of observation, moral and physical, offered by the regions they traverse, and to have the faculty of spreading them before their readers, almost visibly and tangibly. And this, too, whether they survey the works of nature or of man. While others are equally crude in their remarks, and unfortunate in the subjects of their selection. It is not the mere beauty of style, or the novelty of the route, or the "hairbreadth 'scapes," which leave the most permanent impression upon the reader ; but it is the power to catch those features, which reveal the true character, animate and inanimate, of a country, and which gave such a charm to the travels of Moore and Clarke.

Luckily, Mr. Stephens lays no claim to the character of an architectural antiquarian, and speaks of his attainments in that respect with equal good sense and good humor. "I have avoided," he says, "description of ruins, when I could. The fact is, I know nothing of architecture, and never measured any thing in my life ; before I came to Egypt, I could not tell the difference between a *dromos* and a *propylon*, and

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my whole knowledge of Egyptian antiquities was little more than enough to enable me to distinguish between a mummy and a pyramid." The purchaser of his book, therefore, is not bored with that eternal affectation of *knowledge and taste*, which led Eustace in his "Classical Tour," and his predecessors and successors in that most fatiguing of all the departments of learning, to record the feet and inches of every building they entered, of every statue they examined, and of every ruin they explored; to fill page after page with long, prosing dissertations upon the comparative merits of pictures and other works of art, apparently utterly ignorant of the slight impression, which mere description can make, of the most interesting monuments of human genius. Their minute details are beyond the reach of written description.

But we could have wished, that Mr. Stephens had given us more information upon the natural history of the regions he visited, and particularly of the interesting country between the Red Sea and Palestine; and also upon its geographical features, with a view not merely to its actual condition, but to enable us to identify the sites of ancient places, recorded in biblical history. We have in vain endeavoured to follow the author, upon the best charts, during his journey from Suez to Hebron, and could trace him only by reference to a few well-known and well-established places.

Mr. Stephens is fortunate in the relation of his personal adventures. They are not, indeed, of a very thrilling character; but they are sufficiently interesting to command the attention of the reader, and to prove, not only, that his journey was often a perilous one, but that he bore himself with great fortitude and presence of mind, when perhaps his safety, certainly the successful result of his enterprise, depended upon his own resources, physical and mental. The writer of a book of travels should always endeavour to preserve a just medium, between the description of his personal adventures, and his remarks. A bond of union is necessary; but the narrative should avoid the appearance on the one hand of a series of undigested incidents, and on the other of a scientific treatise. Perhaps Mr. Stephens is a little prolix in his account of his disputes and conversations with his Arab guides; but we readily pardon him, for they are illustrative of Eastern manners, and are sketched with great spirit.

The author writes in a pleasant, lively style, which is well suited to the nature of his topics, and at times rises into eleva-

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tion, as he indulges in reflections, appropriate to the solemn scenes, in which he finds himself placed. As we must, of course, pick a fault with him somewhere, — and, by the by, this is no easy task, — and are disposed to close that side of the account as speedily as a just regard to critical *impartiality* will permit, we will tell him, that he is sometimes a little given to conceits ; that he indulges too often in antitheses ; that his tables of contents, at the head of his chapters, which cost him so much trouble to arrange satisfactorily, with their quaint oppositions, are too labored and in bad taste ; and that the description of the dinner he gave his friends in his boat upon the Nile, is abominable, and those four pages are utterly unworthy of their author's good taste and good sense.

The retrospect of a travelling dinner is at best dangerous ground for an author, after Smollett's *piquant* description of that meal, in one of his coarse but admirable sea novels. And though we should have preferred the faithful Paul's "stew," and "mutton," and "maccaroni," and "potatoes," to the *classical* dishes in Smollett's bill of fare, still we must own our preference for the picture painted by the Scottish artist.

Mr. Stephens visited a quarter of the world, where comparatively few of his countrymen have travelled, but where we anticipate they will soon penetrate, with all their characteristic ardor and enterprise. The annihilation of space, occasioned by the introduction of steam into navigation, is in nothing more wonderfully exemplified, than in the time, within which it is possible to travel from New York to Jerusalem. The fact may be startling to our readers, but it is nevertheless true, that a person favored by circumstances, may reach Mount Calvary within thirty-three days after leaving Broadway. Thirteen days may take him to Bristol, two to Paris, three to Marseilles, ten to Syra, four to Jaffa, and one from there to Jerusalem. And the French steamboats, plying upon the Mediterranean to Syra, to Alexandria, to Greece, to Smyrna, and to Constantinople, are safe and pleasant vessels, and well found, in all respects.

Mr. Stephens directed his course to Africa, of which the great geographical characteristic is its sandy deserts. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean, and from the mouth of the Senegal to the Straits of Babelmandel, a sterile sand covers the surface. Sometimes stationary, and some-

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times in motion, it presents alternately to the traveller the spectacle of silent desolation, and of sudden and terrible storms, where the sandy atmosphere approaches the caravan with a rapidity, which no human power can escape, foretelling its effects by its appalling magnificence, and involving the passenger, and his faithful "ship of the desert," in one common ruin. But to this general picture there are many exceptions. Wherever water is found, there is found fertility, and a fertility unknown to more equable regions. The course of the African rivers is marked by an exuberance, for which we may in vain seek a parallel even in other tropical climates, and the population is principally collected along the streams. But there are springs to be found, occasionally, even in the most sterile part of the desert; and round these are small belts of fertile land, islands in an ocean of sand, yielding, with little cultivation, what is necessary to human subsistence. They are the *oases* of the ancients; and it was upon one of these insulated spots, that the celebrated Temple of Jupiter Ammon was situated.

This great sandy desert extends along the Mediterranean, at a short distance from its shores, and reaches to the Red Sea. It obtains, very soon, a considerable elevation, and then presents the aspect of an irregular plane, varied by hills and hollows. A traveller in this region would see before him a chain of sand hills, extending across the line of his route, and, on attaining their summit would see beneath him an immense valley. Whether approaching by the Libyan or the Arabian desert, the aspect would be the same. He would stand upon a sandy ridge, with all that the imagination could conceive most desolate behind him, and before him one of the most magnificent prospects ever presented to human eyes. He would survey a deep valley, bright with vegetation, and teeming with a depressed but laborious population, engaged in the various labors of agriculture. He would see opposite to him another eternal rampart, which, with the one he stands upon, shuts in this valley, and between them a mighty river, flowing in a winding course, from the foot of one chain to the other, furnishing lateral canals, which become fountains, whence the water is elevated by wheels and buckets of the rudest structure, worked sometimes by men and sometimes by cattle, and no doubt identical with the process in use in the days of Sesos-

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tris ; and this water is conveyed over the surface, and communicates that wonderful fertility, which formerly rendered this country the granary of the world, and yet endows it with a power of production unknown even in the most highly cultivated parts of Europe. And this river is the Nile, and this valley is Egypt ; the Egypt of the enslaved Israelites, and of their proud taskmasters ; the Egypt of the Pharaohs, of the Ptolemies, and of the Mamelukes ; the Egypt of On, of Thebes, of Memphis, and of — Damietta ; the Egypt of early civilization, where science and literature were first cultivated, and whence they were sent to enlighten the nations of the west, and the Egypt of the Fellahs, and of the grossest ignorance and misery. And it is to this monument of the Creator's bounty, and to this evidence of man's power and weakness, that our author is about to conduct his readers.

Mr. Stephens commences his narrative at Alexandria, the portal of Egypt, whence he ascended by the canal and the Nile to Cairo. Here he made several lateral excursions to the pyramids of Gizeh and Saccarah, and to the sites of Memphis and Heliopolis, or On. After this, he took the usual route up the great river to the Cataracts, examining the various objects of nature and art, contained in this most extraordinary valley, where the regions of exuberant fertility and of excessive sterility are in absolute contact, and in eternal contest for supremacy. He examined the wonderful remains, which attest the skill and science of the ancient Egyptians at Thebes, at Denderah, and at other well-known places ; and which attest at the same time the utter disregard in which the theocratic rulers of Egypt held the fortunes and services of their subjects, while the wealth of the community was wasted upon objects of useless magnificence. After descending the Nile to Cairo, he set out for Suez, crossed the head of the Red Sea, and reached Mount Sinai. Hence, he travelled to Akabah, on the gulf of that name, being the Eastern or Elanitic branch of the Red Sea. He then took the route through the desert of Arabia Petrea, by the interesting remains of the city of Petra, traversing, as he supposes, the heart of the ancient Edom or Idumea, against which the curse was denounced by the prophet, in these impressive terms, " None shall pass through thee for ever and ever." He then entered the Holy Land, near Hebron, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of David, and reached Jerusalem. Here he remained some days, and made all the usual excursions

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over that region of Biblical story, ennobled by the most touching and glorious incident, which the world has witnessed. Bethlehem, Jericho, Bethany, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, names of deathless interest, were places of pilgrimage for him, as they have been for many who preceded him, and as they will be for many who will follow him. Thence he passed to Shichem, the modern Naplous; to Sebaste, the capital of the kingdom of Samaria, as desolate as misery and ruins can make it; to Nazareth, so long the residence of the Saviour; to the city of Tiberias, and the Sea of Galilee; to Saffad, one of the Holy cities of the Jews, and where they yet come from the remotest parts of Europe to die, and to mingle their ashes with their father land. He then turned his face homeward; visited Mount Carmel, and Caïpha; St. Jean D'Acre, the ancient Ptolemais, and the memorable place which first stayed the torrent of French advance under Bonaparte; Tyre and Sidon; and did all a gallant traveller could do to see the Queen of Palmyra, the granddaughter of the Earl of Chatham, the niece of William Pitt, Lady Hester Stanhope. Unfortunately for his readers, not less than for himself, the lady was not in a favorable mood, and would not open her Arab doors to the transatlantic traveller. We can tell him, he luckily spared himself one of the roughest rides in Syria, and the precipitous ascent of as arid and sterile a hill, as can be found in all the ridges of Lebanon; and on the top of which we found this eccentric lady perched, about nine miles from Saide, the ancient Sidon. Failing in this effort, he pushed on to Beyroot, formerly Berytus, the seaport of all this region; and here he takes leave of his readers.

It will be at once seen, how interesting is the outline here presented for the observations of the author, and the contemplation of his reader; and well has he fulfilled the task he has imposed upon himself. We do not propose to follow him regularly in his path; but we shall select occasional paragraphs from his pages, either because they are characteristic of the writer, or because they are descriptive of scenes, incidents, or persons interesting to us. We reserve to ourselves, in the sequel to consider more at large one or two points, somewhat important in themselves, and in which it is well to point out and correct the errors of the author.

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Mr. Stephens thus records his first impression upon approaching the Nile : —

" At about eight o'clock, next morning, we were standing on the banks of the Nile, the eternal river, the river of Egypt, recalling the days of Pharaoh and Moses ; from the earliest period of recorded time, watering and fertilizing a narrow strip of land, in the middle of a sandy desert, rolling its solitary way more than a thousand miles without receiving a single tributary stream ; the river the Egyptians worshipped, and the Arabs loved, and which, as the Musselmans say, if Mohammed had tasted, ' he would have prayed heaven for terrestrial immortality, that he might continue to enjoy it for ever. ' "

The Nile is indeed a mighty stream ; and without the *prestige* derived from the historical associations. Connected with the narrow valley it has reclaimed from the Arabian and Libyan deserts, and to which it yet gives life and fertility, it offers to the traveller, not only an imposing spectacle, but one of the most admirable works of nature, adapted by unerring Wisdom to render what would otherwise be an arid waste, one of the most productive regions on the face of the globe. We are free to confess, it is one of the few objects we have seen in the old world, without a feeling of disappointment. We do not refer, in this remark, to the historical considerations to which we have already alluded, and which give such deep interest to many places and objects ; but merely to the effect produced upon the spectator by their sight, when compared with the descriptions we have previously read, and the anticipations to which these have given birth. Perhaps our imagination was a little too highly exalted ; but so it is, that, after having seen many of the most celebrated objects of nature and art in the Eastern Hemisphere, we have returned from them disappointed, with but three exceptions. St. Peter's at Rome fulfilled and surpassed all our previous conceptions ; and, after all that has been written upon the monuments of antiquity, we believe that superb Basilick is fitted to produce more powerful impressions upon the spectator, than any other building ever constructed by human hands. The ruins of Baalbec may be approached with a similar conviction ; and the traveller, however highly wrought may be his expectations, will leave its columns, its porticos, and its enormous masses of hewn stone, with sentiments of wonder and admiration. This river of Egypt was the third object

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destined to exceed our previous anticipations. And this, too, after having travelled upon the Missouri and the Mississippi.

In its general features, it bears a strong resemblance to the former river. The water has the same thick, turbid appearance, bringing down with it an immense quantity of the soil of the upper regions, carried off by the rains, or fallen from the banks, undermined by the action of the current. It is lighter colored than the water of the Missouri, but equally impervious to the view, it being impossible to discern an object in either stream, an inch below the surface. The strength of the two currents, we should judge to be about the same, equalling certainly five or six miles an hour; and both exhibit that turbulent, agitated appearance, indicative of great depth and velocity, and which cannot be regarded without awe. The Nile, where the Mahmondieh canal enters it, must be a mile broad; and, when it is considered, that the Damietta branch, on the other side of the Delta, is of equal size, and that there are a number of other passages, which convey that water, either to the sea or to the lakes, which are filled during the inundation; we may form some conception of this great Abyssinian outlet. We ascended it at the height of the inundation. At Cairo, the minimum of this height, above low water, is 6·857 metres,* its medium 7·409 metres, and its maximum 7·961. To this if we add the general depth of the stream at low water, equal to 1·830 metres, we shall have 9·791 metres for the depth, at the period of greatest elevation. It preserves this altitude, or nearly so, for many days; because, as it approaches or recedes from it, its changes are slow. And all this immense mass of water is furnished by the regions south of Egypt. For a thousand miles, there is not only no tributary stream, but evaporation, the aridity of the soil, and the purposes of agriculture are continually diminishing the volume. How wonderful the operations of Nature in the organization of the laws, which govern this great source of Egyptian fertility, or rather of Egyptian existence. From the earliest period it has rolled down this mighty mass, with the certainty and precision of the revolving seasons, generally with a quantity sufficient to irrigate the soil, and to prepare it for its destined crop, but sometimes indeed with a diminished supply, followed by periods of scarcity or famine, like that recorded in the history of Joseph, when "the famine was very sore, that the land of Egypt, and all the land of Canaan

* A metre is 39·731 inches, or 3·281 English feet.

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fainted by reason of the famine." The Nile had no doubt failed to attain the necessary elevation, and sterility and want were the consequence.

Mr. Stephens sought and obtained an introduction to the Pasha, whose origin, adventures, present elevation, and system of administration, have rendered him an object of general interest.

"While standing," says the author, "upon the balcony, a Janizary came to tell us, that the Pasha would receive us, or in other words, that we must come to the Pasha. The audience-chamber was a very large room, with a high ceiling, — perhaps eighty feet long and thirty high, — with Arabesque paintings on the wall, and a divan all round. The Pasha was sitting at one corner, near the extreme end, and had a long and full view of every one who approached him. I too had the same advantage; and in walking up, I remarked him, as a man about sixty-five, with a long and very white beard, strong features, of a somewhat vulgar cast, a short nose, red face, and rough skin, with an uncommonly fine dark eye, expressing a world of determination and energy. He wore a large turban, and a long silk robe, and was smoking a long pipe, with an amber mouth-piece. Altogether he looked the Turk much better than his nominal master the Sultan."

Mr. Stephens acquitted himself in this interview to his own satisfaction, and avows the great complacency he felt at "the manner in which, for the first time, he had played the courtier to royalty." The personal compliment to the Pasha, upon the interest he had excited in the world, upon the improved facilities of travelling in the country, and upon his excellent police, was safe ground; but America, with the speed of her steamboats, her great natural features, and her wonderful progress in all that administers to human comfort, presented a subject far beyond the Pasha's usual sphere of observation and reflection; and we do not wonder, that "he said nothing, and smoked on." We trust, however, that the author overrated Mehemet Ali's skepticism, or underrated his own powers of conviction, when he supposes, that, if the Pasha ever thought of him afterwards, it was as "the lying American." But, after all, incredulity upon the state and progress of this country, must not be charged to the peculiar account of Turkish ignorance. It is common everywhere in Europe, and that too among men of general information, and upon

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topics familiarly known to every citizen of the United States. We have been astonished, even in Paris and London, not merely at the gross ignorance which prevails upon this subject, but at the obduracy of incredulity, with which details well known to every American are received.

We take pleasure in transcribing the following tribute of justice, and in adding our own feeble testimony to its truth. "He," the Pasha, "knew America from a circumstance, which I afterwards found had done wonders in giving her a name and a character in the East; the visit of Commodore Patterson, in the ship Delaware." That gentleman has left behind him an enviable reputation in the various countries of the Mediterranean, which he visited. We have followed him in his route, and have heard but one report of his hospitality, urbanity, and correct demeanor. His superb ship was a proud monument of the naval skill of his country, and the conduct of her officers and crew confirmed the favorable impression she was fitted to produce.

Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, is one of the most remarkable men of this era, prolific in intellectual prodigies. To appreciate him properly, he should be judged by a Turkish, not by a Christian standard; by the opinions and state of society of the community, who have adopted the dogmas of the Arabian Prophet, where human life has little value, and human faith still less, and not by the purer principles and more enlightened ideas of Christendom.

The career of this singular man is well known. He was originally in the lowest station of life, and became successively a tax-gatherer, a *gens-d'armes*, and a soldier. We were informed by an intelligent Christian functionary, that the Pasha had been, at one time, in the service of his father; and that in after years, when fortune had elevated one to the highest pinnacle of power, and depressed the other by one of those mutations, to which commercial establishments are liable, the early obligation was forgotten, and vain was the appeal of the merchant to the prince. Mehemet Ali, after obtaining a subordinate military command, joined the Turkish expedition sent to expel the French from Egypt. The successive gradations of his advancement, and his final exaltation, are familiar to all, and are too much in consonance with Eastern manners to excite surprise. The miracles recorded of Aladdin's lamp, in one of the most beautiful fictions of Arabian imagi-

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nation, almost find their prototypes in the courts of the Sultan, and of his great three-tailed representatives, who reign over the large Pashalics, into which the Turkish dominions are divided. The school of slavery is the institution in which a large portion of the Moslem grandees are educated; and not a few have found themselves, on awakening, the absolute property of a master, and fulfilling the menial functions appropriate to their condition, and, on retiring at night, clothed with the highest powers of the government. Generals, admirals, statesmen, are created by this magic process; and if Narses has had few successors in talents and renown, he has had many in that strange caprice of fortune, which, in apparent contempt of human greatness, elevates to the highest ranks, beings cut off from society. No wonder Turkish arms are unsuccessful, when their leaders, without education and experience, suddenly exchange the intrigues of a seraglio for the command of fleets and armies.

But the Egyptian Pasha has run another course. He owes his advancement to himself; to those great qualities of mind and body, which, acting upon the circumstances in which they are placed, are fitted to control events, or to coöperate with them.

Mr. Stephens has grouped together some of the incidents of the Pasha's life and government, but gives no general sketch of his character, contenting himself, in a summary, with saying; "It remains to be seen, whether, after all, he has not done more harm than good, and whether the miserable and oppressed condition of his subjects, does not more than counterbalance all the good he has done for Egypt."

What our author has doubtfully intimated, we take the freedom to express without reserve. We render justice to the useful qualities of Mehemet Ali, and leave to others to arraign him for the acts of cruelty and perfidy he has committed, and particularly for the murder of the Mameluke Beys, by which his vice-regal throne was attained and secured. He is a Turk, and the Mohammedan standard of morals, connected with political movements, is far too low to justify the application to him of any principles laid down in our code of ethics.

He found the Pasha at a country house, belonging to one of his sons-in-law, upon the banks of the Canal, to which he had been driven by the intense heat of the weather. Mr.

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Stephens has accurately described the ceremony upon these occasions, and we shall pass at once into the presence of the Viceroy. He was in a large apartment upon the second floor, at one end of which was a Turkish divan, or raised seat. The room was neat, and well ventilated, but without splendor, and almost without furniture. We found him more civil, than when our author visited him; no doubt, because, according to the Abernethy doctrine, his stomach was in better order, and he consequently in better humor. As we entered, he arose from his divan, and walked down the room to meet us. He received us with much politeness, and conducted us to a seat at his side. After being seated, we seized the first moment to throw a *coup d'œil* around us.

At the opposite end of the room were grouped many of the Pasha's personal attendants and officers; stationed there, no doubt, to give more effect to the scene. They were all motionless, with their eyes upon their master, and clothed in the ugly costume, which the present Sultan has introduced, and which is gradually extending itself from Constantinople to Cairo and Bagdad, and displacing the turban, the large trowsers, and loose-flowing robe. This costume consists of a large frock coat, or of a strait jacket, the Turks having generally adopted the former, and the Egyptians the latter; of pantaloons, and that most uncouth of all contrivances for covering the head, the fez cap. Alas, for the majesty of the turban, so long associated with all our notions of Eastern manners, and which has scarcely undergone a change since the days of Abraham! The fez cap is worn constantly, not taken off within doors, like our hats, and is considered a part of the dress. It is of red cloth, and of a cylindrical shape, precisely like a hat without the brim, and surmounted with a blue tassel. The ancient flowing costume concealed the defects of the Turkish form, and produced a general impression, that the race was highly favored in its physical conformation. This error, the change of dress has revealed; and no man has compared the Turkish gentleman of the old and the new school, without being struck with the superiority of the former in his appearance and bearing.

Standing immediately in front of the Pasha, and with an attitude and countenance as respectful, as fear and habit could impress, was the Prime Minister, Boghos Bey, an Armenian, who is said to be shrewd and intelligent, and who

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has long been his confidential minister and adviser, and, in his absence, the depositary of his power. He was accompanied by the principal interpreter, a man of more importance in the Eastern courts, than is indicated by that humble designation.

Mehemet Ali appeared to be about seventy years of age, of medium height, but inclining to corpulency, with a magnificent white beard, and a piercing eye, not indicating those characteristics of cruelty, of which his life has given so many examples. He is brisk in his movements, and of great personal activity and address, for his advanced age. He was dressed with as much simplicity as any of his attendants.

Coffee, the great mark of Eastern politeness, was introduced. Without this proof of attention, the visitor may take it for granted, that he is purposely insulted; as much so, at least, as the stranger, who is not invited to take a seat in a Christian house. Formerly, the Pasha presented pipes and tobacco; but there is a story current at Alexandria, that, some years since, when Mr. Salt, the late British Consul-General was first introduced, not loving the narcotic weed, he declined the proffered compliment, and that since then, to avoid the mortification of another refusal, Mehemet Ali has restricted his hospitality to the little Turkish cup of coffee. If this were so, it must have happened in his novitiate, and before Mr. Salt had entered far upon that career of political service, of antiquarian research, and of profitable traffic in the relics of ancient art, which so long connected his name with Egyptian investigations. He probably improved his manners as he increased his knowledge, and would no doubt, in after years, have enveloped himself in as thick a cloud of smoke, as ever issued from the pipe and mouth of the gravest Turk from the Nile to the Euphrates. For ourselves, albeit we are confirmed believers in the wit and wisdom of King James's counterblast, and have about an equal love for the two plants of the Ancient Dominion, yclept tobacco, and the weed of Jamestown, popularly called *Jimson*, yet we have always yielded to the impulse of good manners, and received complacently the amber mouth-piece, from the neat, well-trained attendant; who, by long habit, arrives at the highest honors of his profession, in learning to place the little silver or brazen dish in which the pipe rests, precisely at such a distance from the smoker, as to enable him, by opening his mouth, to receive the tube without moving head or pipe. This feat requires a practised

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hand and eye, and is the very acme of elegance in Turkish hospitality, as it certainly is of the indulgence of Turkish indolence. We must give the benefit of our experience to any future travellers in the East, who partake of our antipathy to this vilest weed of the vegetable kingdom, eschewed, not chewed, by every thing that has life, except a man and a worm. An exhalation is quite as good as an inhalation, and, so that the smoke rises, no matter whether from mouth or pipe, the Moslem host will be satisfied; it never entering within the circle of his mental possibilities, to suspect any one of a disregard for this great killer of time and consoler of trouble. It passes our comprehension to imagine, how the followers of the Prophet filled up the measure of their time before its introduction. We have tried this same plan with equal success in our own forests, among a people as grave in their demeanor, and as inflexible in their manners, as the Turks; and have found the pipe as cherished a luxury at the heads of the Mississippi, as upon the Jordan and the Bosphorus.

The Pasha conversed but little, appearing disposed rather to listen, than to talk. And we too, as well as Mr. Stephens, played the courtier, and congratulated him upon the security his government afforded to travellers, and upon the excellent police he had established. He received our compliments with complacency and apparent satisfaction, but with an impassible countenance. His unwonted taciturnity was attributed, by the scandal-mongers of the day, to a singular arrangement, which circumstances had rendered necessary, and which had broken up his domestic establishment. It did not however, affect his politeness, or imprint upon his visage any marks of trouble. After some more general conversation, and after receiving from him assurances, that in our progress through his dominions we should find every necessary facility and attention, we took our leave.

We have visited the four great divisions of Mehemet Ali's dominions; Egypt, Candia (the ancient Crete), Syria, and Palestine. We exclude Arabia from this enumeration, because his tenure of that country is so feeble, and its duration so doubtful. He has, indeed, as we have just heard, exchanged the red flag with the crescent, almost identical with the Turkish flag, for the green banner of Mecca; but he has little chance of consolidating his power over the native country

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of the Prophet, because he hoists the Prophet's standard. Candia we merely touched at, without enjoying any opportunity of investigating the condition of the people or the operations of the government. In Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, we were more fortunate; and we have retired from the dominions of the successor of the Pharaohs, with the conviction, that a more oppressed and miserable population, than the indigenous races subject to his power, scarcely exists upon the face of the globe. The first element of society, the great, the only legitimate object of government, agreeably to our estimate of human rights and duties, the happiness of the governed, is absolutely held for nothing in the court of Alexandria. A vague notion of European civilization and advancement seems to have seized the Viceroy. It presents itself to his mind, as the medium of power, and not as the attendant, the cause and effect, of national and individual prosperity. The extension and consolidation of this power, are every thing; the comfort of his wretched people nothing.

As a part of this system, he is ambitious of European commendation, and desirous of associating his name with the introduction of Western improvements. Railroads have been projected and commenced, where the transportation would not defray the expense of preserving the communication. Sugar refineries have been established and abandoned. A gigantic scheme for elevating the Nile, by building dams across its two principal branches, a short distance below the upper point of the Delta, has been favorably received; and some progress towards the collection of the articles, required for this construction, has been made. It was even designed at one time to demolish the Pyramids, and to employ their materials in this project; and Mr. Stephens states, that a European engineer was directed to examine them, and to decide which should be demolished; and he adds, that this officer reported it would be cheaper to get stone from the quarries. We heard another version of the manner in which these monuments escaped the *utilitarian* projects of the great Reformer. It was said, the French Consul interposed so strenuously between the Pasha and his prey, that the scheme was abandoned; probably because he dreaded the effect such a measure might produce upon the character he is laboring to establish in Europe. Shades of Sesostris, of Cheops, and of Cephrenes! Little did ye think, that ye might owe to a

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barbarian of the West, the preservation of your sepulchres from the desecrating innovation of one of your successors.

The Pasha is almost the only land-owner, and first purchaser of the valuable productions of his country. We believe, that not a single Egyptian, except a few of the principal persons about his court, possesses an acre of land; and even these, says a late traveller in Egypt, enjoy "only a life estate in them." This same traveller, Captain Scott, apologizing for the vices of the Egyptian government, says, "The great evil, that weighs down the country, — pressing particularly on the springs of industry, — is the necessity which obliges Mehemet Ali to constitute himself the sole proprietor of the soil." What a *honeyed* word is this "constitute," when put in opposition with "*seize*." *Necessity*, indeed! The old plea for every species of oppression. And this plea is here founded upon the character and condition of the population, some of whom are not sufficiently "enlightened to be trusted," while those, who possess the requisite knowledge, "are not old enough to have the requisite influence with the people." And a third class, the Fellahs, if they had land, "would cultivate merely the quantity of ground sufficient to afford them subsistence." "Who," therefore, — says this founder of a new school of political economy, which inculcates, that the way to commence the improvement of a country, is first to seize all the property of the people, and that communities are industrious and enterprising in an inverse ratio to the success of their labors, — "who," therefore, "could possess it (the whole property of the country) with greater advantage" (than Mehemet Ali)? The same benevolent motives have, no doubt, led him to "*constitute* himself the farmer-general and sole merchant of Egypt." And this monstrous usurpation is thus coolly defended. "I doubt, therefore, whether, under all circumstances, Mehemet Ali's monopolizing system be not the best that could be adopted, until knowledge, &c."

This system of administration produces in Egypt, "in the years of a *good Nile*," about twenty-two millions of dollars, from a population, little, if at all exceeding three millions, and the whole value of whose exports does not equal eight million five hundred thousand dollars; and this from a country destitute of manufactures, and whose inhabitants are in the lowest state of human misery and degradation. The

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effects of this state of things are everywhere seen in the squalid misery of the population. Last year Egypt was threatened with a famine, and we believe grain was imported from Odessa; and recent accounts represent the prospects of the present season as little better. We believe the great fertilizer of Egypt has been neither above nor below its healthful standard; and we must seek, in the oppressive and injudicious measures of the government, the causes which threaten to convert the granary of the old world into a comparatively sterile waste.

As to protection, as we understand the term, there is absolutely nothing of it in Egypt. No man's person or property is safe for a day. And, indeed, through the Turkish dominions, agreeably to the theory of its government, and, till lately, agreeably to its practical administration, the lives and property of the Christians were as insecure as they could be rendered by unchecked rapacity on the one hand, and unprotected weakness on the other. The victorious Mahomet and his successors, after the fall of Constantinople, early established the doctrine, that the lives of all the conquered inhabitants were forfeited; and then, with the acuteness of logicians and the cruelty of barbarians, they drew the conclusion, that, as the greater includes the less, every thing belonged to the government; but that, from year to year, the Christian *rayahs* might ransom their lives and fortunes at a fixed rate. Still, however, this was but a temporary arrangement, leaving the government the complete master of its newly acquired subjects. And this doctrine has been well carried out. At Nicosia, the capital of the island of Cyprus, we were hospitably entertained at a Greek convent, the residence of the Archbishop, a venerable man, with great apparent singleness of purpose, and highly esteemed in the island. We had much conversation with him, and, among other topics, upon the operation of the Turkish laws, and the condition of the Greek population. He told us, the statement of a Christian was not received in opposition to a Turk, and that their protection depended entirely on the personal character of their ruler. The Turkish high judicial officers, called Cadis, are sent from Constantinople, where they are taken from the *ulemas*, or body of lawyers, to all parts of the empire. Their decisions, in cases affecting Christians, are practically without appeal; and, as if it were to stimulate them to unjust decisions, they

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are allowed ten per cent. upon their judgments. We asked the Archbishop, whether, if the Cadi rendered a judgment openly and manifestly unjust, and for which there was no pretext, the Greeks had any remedy; and he told us, they had none.

Even in Constantinople it is easy to detect the radical, inherent vices of the Turkish system, though controlled there by the influence, which the opinions of Christendom exert at this day upon the Moslem institutions, and perhaps by the personal character of the Sultan.

The Imperial Manslayer is one of the titles of the Grand Seignior, and it is said not to have been heretofore a barren one. But, as all governments have some practical check, so in this case, the royal butcher was restricted to forty victims a day. In like manner, the Capitan Pasha has the right to put to death the persons of his suite, and *perhaps* the mariners serving in his fleet. We understood at Constantinople, that this high officer had recently lost a favorite diamond aigrette, given to him by the Sultan, and, not being able to find it, at a moment when he desired to visit his master, in a fit of passion, he threw one of his servants into the Bosphorus, and blew out the brains of another with a pistol. We are happy to add, as some evidence of advancement in humanity, if not in civilization, that it was predicted the monster would soon lose his office, as he had already lost the favor of his master, who had expressed much indignation at this act of atrocity. We know not if the prediction has been fulfilled.

The conduct of the Egyptian government in the excavation of the Mahmondieh canal furnishes another illustration of this reckless disregard of human rights and human life. While it is one of the most useful monuments of the reign of Mehemet Ali, it is also one of the most striking monuments of arbitrary power and oppression, recorded in ancient or modern history. Instead of a just and systematic arrangement for the employment and subsistence of the necessary laborers, the miserable Fellahs were literally driven from their villages, and compelled to work upon this canal. It is computed, that not less than three hundred thousand were thus seized, of whom at least twenty-five thousand perished, from hunger, fatigue, and the hardships incident to want and exposure. We were informed by a most respectable witness, that these wretched beings were furnished with no instruments of labor, but that

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the earth was dug with their hands, and carried away in the miserable rags, which barely covered their nakedness. Fortunately, as well for them as for the successful termination of the enterprise, the soil is alluvial, and without a stone upon the whole route. The country is almost a dead level, and there is not a lock upon the Canal. There is a sluice at each end, to regulate the admission and escape of the water, but no means for the passage of boats. The work is in fact a large ditch, without science in the plan, or skill in the execution. It is so crooked, that the distance is probably increased one third, without the slightest necessity for this deviation from a direct line, and apparently, because chance assigned to the laborers their stations.

But, in *rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*, let us do justice to Mehemet Ali. His government has everywhere meliorated the condition of Europeans. They are indeed the privileged caste of the country, and a hat is a surer protection than a turban, throughout his dominions. Mohammedan fanaticism has yielded to the terror inspired by his name; and we do not believe, that, since some of the earlier and more renowned Sultans, any Eastern ruler has possessed the personal influence, which has been acquired by this able and energetic man. The police is admirable, and travelling is perfectly safe. Unfortunately, the government and its agents, from the Pasha down, are possessed of unlimited power, and every thing gives way before its use and abuse. And since we ourselves saw at Boulah, the port of Cairo, police officers *impress* a crew for the boats, which had been assigned to us, by pushing into a crowd with a long rope, and sending on board all who were encircled in it, without the slightest regard to any arrangements for their pay or subsistence, we have had little patience with the indiscriminate panegyrists of the Egyptian Viceroy.

What effect the death of Mehemet Ali will produce upon the fabric of power, which he has constructed, is a question that excites much interest in the political world. His repeated applications to the Porte for a firman, constituting Ibrahim Pasha his successor, have been unavailing; and the desire he has evinced to throw off his nominal dependence upon the Sultan has been thwarted by the representations of the political agents of France and England. To insure the peaceable transmission of his government to his son, (actual

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or adopted, for this is a vexed question,) is no doubt the great object he now has in view. Will he accomplish it ?

The various portions of the dominions of Mehemet Ali have no natural connexion, or dependence upon one another. They have been united, and are held together, by his power and address. He has neither the *prestige* derived from hereditary succession, nor the advantage of that veneration, which the Mohammedans attach to the head of their religion. In these important points, his nominal master, but actual rival, the Sultan, possesses an immense superiority over him. They will probably be counterbalanced during the life of Mehemet Ali, by his personal influence, and the continuation of his policy. But there is no political hereditary succession acknowledged in the Turkish dominions, except in the family of Othman. To attempt to succeed his father as the heir of his power, would be for Ibrahim Pasha to establish a new claim, and to give a shock to old prejudices. Many of the Turkish Pashas have been rebels, and held their dominions in opposition to every effort, open or covert, which could be made by the metropolitan government, to subdue, or to assassinate them. The Turkish history is full of these contests. But the death of the fortunate Pasha has almost always demolished his political fabric, and transferred his horsetail from his family to a stranger.

Has Ibrahim Pasha the high personal qualities necessary to counteract this tendency to reversion ? We doubt it. His appearance is not calculated to produce a favorable impression. We visited him, and found him a heavy-looking man, exhibiting decided effects of dissipation. And it is well known, that he little heeds the injunction of the Prophet, but habitually indulges in intoxication. In the Morea, and in Syria, he has certainly exhibited military skill, sullied, indeed, particularly in the former country, by the most atrocious cruelties. But he has given no proofs of power as a statesman, and his father has not deemed it safe to confide to him the government of any one of his large provinces. He resides much in Syria, yet Sheriff Pasha, at Damascus, is the Governor-General. But we have not time to investigate his character, nor the presumption to predict his fate.

One fact, however, is certain ; which is, that the course of events, connected with Mehemet Ali, has sunk deep into the heart of Sultan Mahmoud. The man and the monarch

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have been equally wounded, and the family of the Egyptian Viceroy have nothing to hope from his forbearance. We were informed at Damascus, by a political agent of one of the European powers, that a Persian Imaun had recently been there, on his way as a pilgrim to Mecca. He was a holy man, and held in great veneration. He partook frequently of the hospitality of our informant, and their acquaintance was very intimate. We believe he resided some time with the agent. His holy character had given him access to the person and confidence of the Sultan. Among other things he said, the Sultan had mentioned Mehemet Ali's name with great bitterness, and had expressed the hope, that Providence would prolong his life till he could be revenged.

But we must abandon this digression, and follow our enterprising traveller in his progress. We have already said, that he ascended the Nile to the Cataracts; stopping to survey, upon his ascending or descending route, the various objects of nature and art, which, from the days of Herodotus, have rendered this valley almost a shrine for the pilgrimage of the learned and curious.

This voyage upon the Nile has become one of the most usual routes pursued by travellers in the East, and it may be performed with great personal ease and perfect safety. A party embarks upon a canga, or Nile boat, and, with "all appliances to boot," is wafted by the wind, or slowly dragged by the boatmen, up the stream, and has no occasion to land, except to renew the stock of provisions, or to examine some interesting object. Many families have accomplished the voyage, and fresh, therefore, as it is to each new party, the whole region has been so often and variously described, that it would be difficult for the most ingenious traveller to present much novelty to his readers. We shall do little more, therefore, than indicate a few of the objects, which engaged the attention of the author, remarking only, that it requires some moral courage to make a book at the present day upon Egypt, after the splendid works, which public and private efforts have supplied. The harvest has long since been gathered, and a gleaner can only hope to collect the scattered grain. The graphic manner and lively style of Mr. Stephens, however, sustain the attention of his reader, even when travelling over this beaten part of his journey.

Mr. Stephens examined the Pyramids, and wisely refrains

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from any thing more than a very general description of them. All that the pen or the pencil could do to delineate them has been already done; and, unless a fortunate accident should bring to light some hidden treasure, we may well rest satisfied with the labors of the travellers, who, in the various ages of the world, have recorded the impressions produced upon them by these stupendous, but useless monuments of human power.

The period of their construction, the objects to which they were destined, and the means employed to raise these apparently profitless structures, are lost in the darkness of early Egyptian history. It is difficult, either upon the spot by actual observation, or in the closet by calculation, to form a just conception of their prodigious magnitude. Visible objects are appreciated by their relation to one another; but in the scale of human experience, there is nothing to which we can compare the Pyramids. And, in ascending the Nile, when the eager eye first rests upon them, we imagine there is no traveller, who does not feel a sentiment of disappointment. In vain he recalls to himself the great distances at which their summits are clearly defined, against the Libyan chain and the blue sky. It is useless. He cannot estimate their magnitude, and turns away, half inclined to believe, that those who have preceded him have yielded faith to their imaginations. And even at the last moment, when standing at the base of the Pyramid of Cheops, and looking up at this enormous pile, or when surveying from its top the rich and fertile valley before him, and the everlasting ramparts, which defend it from the sand of the desert, a feeling of disappointment still lingers at the heart.

Mr. Stephens has stated a well-known fact, which brings the immensity of these fabrics more within the human reach.

"The sepulchral chamber is not in the centre, but in an irregular, and out of the way position, in the vast pile; and some idea may be formed of the great ignorance which must exist in regard to the whole structure and its uses, from the fact, that by computation, allowing an equal solid bulk for partition walls, there is sufficient space, in the great pyramids, for three thousand seven hundred chambers, as large as that containing the sarcophagus."

For some important statements relating to this subject, we are indebted to M. Jomard, the Director of the Royal Li-

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brary at Paris, one of the most eminent literary men of France, and one of the few *savans* now living, who accompanied the French expedition into Egypt. He is well known for his researches into the antiquities of that country. These *memoranda* were hastily set down, in answer to questions we had addressed to him. We give their substance, divested of the form which this circumstance occasioned.

"The Pyramids west of Gizeh, and standing some leagues south of that place, are built of stones, taken from the Arabian chain, on the right bank of the river, and nearly opposite their positions. These stones are calcareous, and there yet exist at Rosetta, and south of that place, immense excavations, whence the necessary materials were taken. These quarries are filled with the remains of Egyptian antiquity, and are many leagues in extent. I have visited them often, and always with the most lively interest.

"The Pyramid of Cheops is surrounded by an immense number of tombs. Captain Caviglia discovered the last, which has been made known and examined. It has since been re-opened by Colonel Vyse, who has not yet published any thing upon the subject, except some letters, and a "*factum*" against the original explorer of this monument.

"There has been found, within the last two years, a second chamber above the central one, called 'the chamber of the King.'

"The Egyptian Institute discovered at Memphis, in 1800, the colossal hand of the great statue of Ptecha, or the Egyptian Vulcan, according to Herodotus; or of a king of the eighteenth dynasty, according to the moderns. This hand was dug up in my presence. It was sent aboard one of the vessels of the fleet, destined for France, with other valuable works of Egyptian antiquity; but this vessel was captured by the English, in 1802, and this precious relic was taken to London. Thirteen years afterwards, I visited that city, and took a copy in stucco, which is now in my gallery. The residue of the gigantic statue was exhumed, I think, in 1819, in presence of the French consul, M. Drovetti.

"The only Pyramid, of which I have any knowledge, upon the east side of the Nile, is that of Astry, which, however, is built of brick.

"The Pyramids terminate at the parallel of 29° 15′ north. There is one, however, at the distance of one hundred and thirty leagues further south. Besides these are the Pyramids of Meroe.

"I have made a calculation, as many others have done, of the quantity of material in the Pyramids; but it is an operation,

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which cannot be exact, for the want of the necessary *data*. However, to give a familiar illustration of the enormous masses of stone, heaped on these structures, I will recall the estimate heretofore made, that the stone of a single Pyramid, that of Cheops, would form a wall six feet high, and one foot thick, capable of enclosing the whole kingdom of France, being a distance of one thousand leagues.

"The number of the Pyramids is as follows;

At Gizeh, (the most celebrated,) . . .	3
Near Gizeh, ...	12
From Gizeh to Fayoum, (3 of which are of brick,)	19
Upon the chain of Fayoum, ...	2
Mohammenyeh, ...	1
	37 "

Mr. Stephens passed over the site of Memphis, whose name recalls the earliest periods of Egyptian history, and which, "for moral effect," he says, and says truly, "for powerful impression on the imagination and feelings," is, perhaps, more interesting than the ruins of any of the Egyptian cities. Here are no ruins, no food for the senses; all belongs to the imagination. One monument only survives, in solitary grandeur, to tell where the proud capital once stood, and to show, by its own admirable execution, that the description of the opulence of Memphis, which ancient writers have left us, was not exaggerated. Some years since, a colossal statue was discovered in this place, and it has fortunately escaped the grasp of the *hunters of curiosities*. Little doubt exists, but that it is one of the colossal statues, placed by Sesostris in front of the temple of Vulcan in Memphis. By the *conoscenti* it is considered an admirable specimen of ancient art; and even to us, having no claims to *virtù*, it presented a most interesting spectacle. It lies with its face downwards, and is nearly perfect to the knees. Its whole height was about forty-five feet. Its discovery has left no doubt of the true site of this once celebrated capitol, whose materials have partly perished, and have partly gone to build up its neighbour and rival, Cairo.*

* It is worthy of remark, that a similar accident, has led to the identification of another place, renowned in history. After the battle of Chæronea, the Thebans erected a marble lion to the memory of their countrymen, who perished in that ill-fated day, so disastrous to the freedom of Greece. A short time since, an English traveller explored the field, and was led by the appearance of an elevation, to seek for this ancient monument. He caused

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Memphis is situated in what *we* should call a *bottom*, running from the Libyan highlands to the Nile. The position must have been a low one, and, we should suppose, insalubrious. It is in the immediate vicinity of the Pyramids, which are erected upon a ridge, putting out from the main chain, and much lower. We counted, at Saccarah, seventeen within view, of different magnitude, and in every state of decay. Near Saccarah, our author visited the tombs of the birds, among the most curious and interesting objects, he says, in Egypt; *not so much in themselves*, as through the illustration they afford of the character of the ancient inhabitants and their superstitions. The superstitious veneration exhibited by the ancient Egyptians for certain animals, while alive, and for their remains, when dead, is among the most extraordinary facts, recorded of the waywardness of man. We should be tempted to doubt the accounts, which have come down to us, had not irrefragable evidence of their veracity come down with them in these brute Necropoles. The ancient historians tell us, that killing an ibis or hawk was a crime punished with death; that cats were salted (embalmed?) and buried in the city of Bubastes; that bitches and ichneumons were buried in consecrated chests, where they happened to die; that hawks were removed to the city of Butes, and ibises to Hermopolis; that otters were venerated, and that fishes, eels, and serpents were buried in the temple of Jupiter. What a picture of human weakness!

the ground to be excavated, and was rewarded by the discovery of the Theban lion, somewhat broken, indeed, but with its various portions well preserved, and capable of being brought together again with little trouble. We were happy to learn, that the Grecian government were about to take the necessary measures to replace *this most interesting relic* upon its pedestal, where it can again survey the beautiful valley, where the Macedonian phalanx and the Theban legion came into contact, and where Alexander performed his first feat in arms. The site of the battle-field is fixed by this landmark; and one better formed for the decision of the great question of power and liberty, there submitted to the *ultima ratio*, it would be difficult to find. There was little room for strategetic warfare. The plain is narrow, probably not more than a mile and a half across, enclosed on both sides by precipitous hills, and perfectly level. The Thebans and the Macedonians, advancing into the plain, met near the city of Chæronea, and there fought this memorable battle. One of the most extraordinary works of antiquity yet remains on the site of this city. It is an amphitheatre, hewn out of the solid rock, in the side of the hill, and overlooking the whole of this level plain, now so waste and desolate. When standing on its imperishable seats, and surveying the prospect before us, we could not but contrast its present solitude with the picture it presented, when the old men, the women, and the children looked out upon the work of death, going on before them.

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And immense receptacles were prepared, under ground, to contain the carcasses of these animals. Their extent exceeds all conception. The remains are found in earthen jars, and piled in immense layers, upon one another. We went to the door of one of these catacombs ; but *thus far shalt thou go and no further* was proclaimed to us, by a latitude, which prohibited all passage through the narrow entrance, except to those who had been more ascetic than ourselves. We left to our *smaller* companions, to penetrate into these chambers of Egyptian superstition, while we amused ourselves, in the sand, on the outside, during a *pleasant* day in September, under an African sun, in examining the jars and their contents. And we were struck here, as we had been elsewhere, with the character of indestructibility which seems to attach to the rude pottery of the ancients. Broken pieces are found upon the sites of the most ancient towns, upon the field of Marathon, at the city of Platea, and upon the plain of Sicyon, one of the oldest cities of Greece, — broken, doubtless, at a very early period, while the fragments resist all tendency to decay. Whether it be the nature of the manufacture, or the state of the climate, which confers such durability upon this apparently fragile material, we know not. Perhaps both contribute to the result.

We must leave Mr. Stephens to make his tour to the confines of Nubia. He examined, of course, the mighty monuments upon the banks of the Nile, which had outlived their authentic history, and whose longevity appears almost destined to equal that of the earth itself; columns, porticos, temples, beautiful in design, immense in structure, and finished in execution. The far-famed cataract, he did not rate very highly. No wonder ; for the sight of Niagara destroys all taste for waterfalls, even *those of Versailles*. Mr. Stephens humorously observes, " The great and ever-to-be-lamented Sam Patch would have made the Nubians stare, and shown them that some folks can do things as well as other folks ; and we question, if there is a cataract on the Nile, at which that daring diver would not have turned up his nose in scorn."

Our author examined some of the quarries in Upper Egypt, whence enormous masses of rock have been taken, and he remarks ; " It is curious to notice how long before the force of gunpowder, and the art of blasting rocks, were known,

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immense stones were separated from the sides of the mountains, and divided as the artist wished, by the slow process of boring holes, and of splitting them apart with wedges." One of the most extraordinary objects we ever examined, was a prodigious block of stone in a quarry at Baalbec. It is sixty-eight feet long, fourteen high, and ten broad. By the under side it is yet attached to its natural bed of rock, though partly separated, even there; but on all the other sides, it is perfectly quarried. And it is remarkable, that it is near the centre of the excavation, showing that, after the work was nearly completed, the effort was abandoned, and the circumjacent stone got out, and taken away. It is inclined at an angle perhaps of fifteen degrees, evidently because the natural veins of the rock were followed. There are several stones in the wall of the temple, of about the same size; but the magnitude of this can be better appreciated, because the traveller can ascend it, and examine its dimensions. And a most wonderful spectacle it is! How these masses were removed, and raised, cannot be ascertained at this day. But they will always remain among the most striking evidences of human power; and the more impressive, because all is ruin and desolation around them.

There is so much good feeling in the following burst of patriotic enthusiasm, that we are tempted to lay it before our readers. On his return to Cairo, from his expedition up the Nile, Mr. Stephens went immediately to the American Consul, hoping to receive letters from home; "but," he says,

"I was disappointed; there were no letters; but there was other, and more interesting news for me; and, as an American, identified with the honor of my country, I was congratulated, there, three thousand miles from home, upon the expected speedy and honorable termination of our difficulties with France. An English vessel had arrived at Alexandria, bringing a London paper, containing the President's message, a notice of the offer of mediation from the English government, its acceptance by France, and the general impression that the quarrel might be considered as settled, and the money paid. A man must be long, and far, from home, to feel how dearly he loves his country, how his eye brightens, and his heart beats, when he hears her praises from the lips of strangers; and, when the paper was given me with congratulations and compliments on the successful and honorable issue of this affair with France, my feelings grew prouder and prouder as I read, till, when I had finished the last

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line, I threw up my cap in the old city of Cairo, and shouted the old gathering-cry, 'Hurrah for Jackson.'"

He who has put the ocean between himself and his country, and whose heart does not respond to this, is no true American. The star-spangled banner never appeared to us so beautiful, as when the winds unrolled its folds over our tent in the desert; and we do not recollect, that we ever had a prouder hour, than when we entered, with a party of our countrymen, into the ancient city of Damascus, (which existed in the days of Abraham, and which yet constitutes the *beau idéal* of an Eastern city, as painted in the Arabian tales,) preceded by the flag of our country, which attracted the gaze of the wondering Moslems. If there is a dissatisfied American, — we trust we need not say, we do not allude to our comparatively little internal differences of policy, but to the great principles of our government, and their practical operation, — let him examine the condition of other nations; and if he does not return a better citizen, and a more contented man, we will agree to forfeit all claim to the gift of divination. This love of country is a mysterious sentiment. Dormant under ordinary circumstances, it is awakened and becomes intense, as we recede from our own shores, till, when half the globe is interposed between the pilgrim and his home, the love of that home is the absorbing passion of his existence.

Mr. Stephens set out from Egypt for the further prosecution of his journey. He travelled to Suez, and from there to Mount Sinai. The valuable works of Pocock and Niebuhr render it unnecessary for us to introduce his remarks to our reader. He at length reached Akaba, (a small port upon the eastern or Elanitic branch of the Red Sea,) which is supposed to have been the Ezion-geber of the Scriptures, and the station of the commercial and military marine of Solomon.

Mr. Stephens describes Akaba as desolate, from the beginning of the year till its close, except during the few days that the outward and inward bound caravan, to and from Mecca, rests there. It presents nothing to interest the traveller, except in its historical associations, among which is the apocryphal one, stated to our author by the governor, that the fortress was constructed by the renowned Saladin.

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At Akaba, Mr. Stephens entered upon his *terra incognita*, the land of Idumæa, or Edom, and the residence of Esau. We propose to follow him here, and further on, in some geographical inquiries, and, to facilitate the course of our readers, insert, on the opposite page, a rude sketch of the principal localities, to which we shall call their attention.

The region of Idumæa, as is well remarked by Malte-Brun, has never had a fixed boundary, because, being subject to the fluctuation of conquest, its extent has been alternately enlarged and contracted. It formed a portion of Arabia Petræa, and sometimes of Palestine, and was given as a patrimony to Esau, and an inheritance to his children. "Thus dwelt Esau in Mount Seir, Esau is Edom." Reland, in his "Palæstina," remarks, that, at the period of the Jewish emigration, Edom did not extend to the Red Sea, because the Jews avoided the southern frontier of that kingdom, by making a *détour* to the Elanitic Gulf. Later we know it embraced many ports upon that sea, and the Edomites became able mariners, and maintained an extensive commerce. Diodorus Siculus, in his narrative of the expedition into this country, in the reign of Antigonus, describes it as lying round Lake Asphaltites. In general terms, however, we may define its boundaries as extending west, from the mountains of Seir, into the great desert, and as lying between Palestine and the Red Sea. In the Hebrew prophecies, there are terrible denunciations against this region, and terribly have they been fulfilled. Their clear announcement, and accurate completion, have been generally regarded as among the most striking proofs we possess of the inspiration of the Old Testament writers. Mr. Stephens has referred to many of these passages, equally remarkable for their lofty sublimity and their terrific warnings. Isaiah (xxxiv. 10–16), speaking of Edom, says;

"From generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and ever. But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it; and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness. They shall call the nobles thereof to the kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her princes shall be nothing. And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof; and it shall be a habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the

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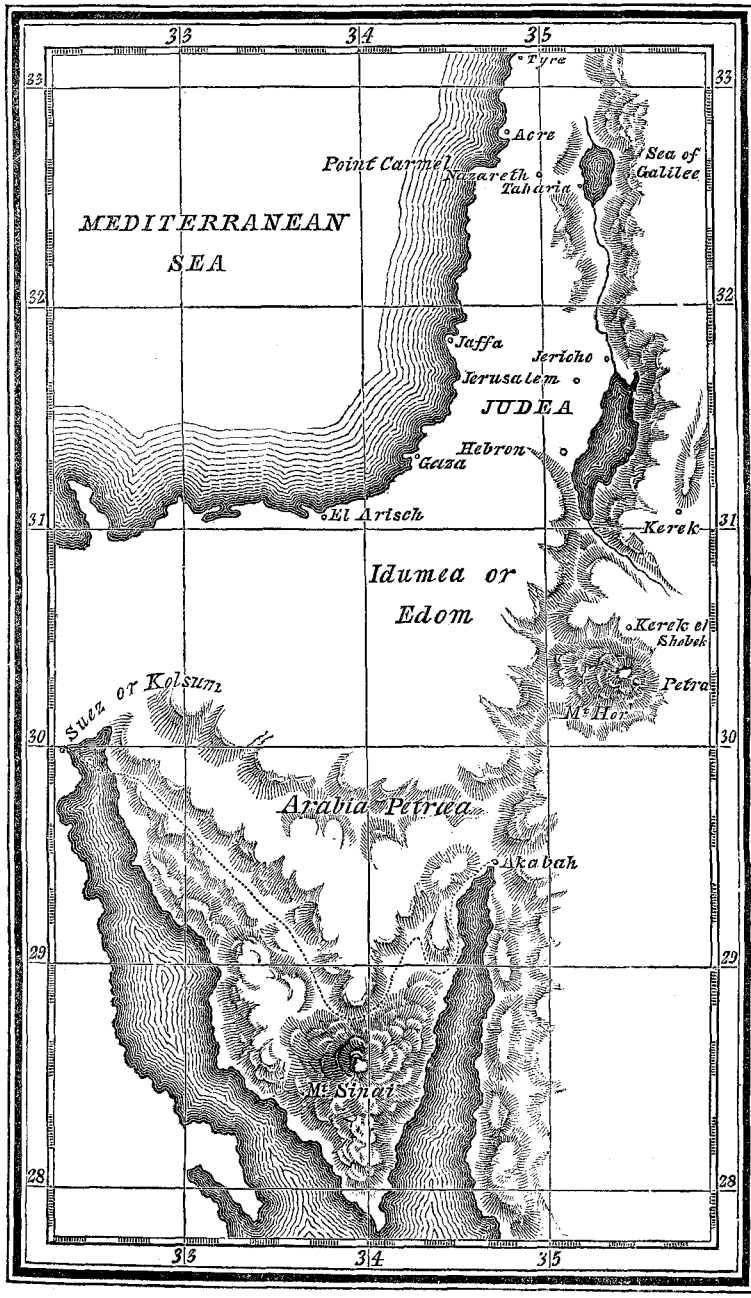

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desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow; the screech-owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest. There shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow; there shall the vultures also be gathered, every one with her mate. Seek ye out of the book of the Lord, and read; no one of these shall fail, none shall want her mate; for my mouth, it hath commanded, and his spirit, it hath gathered them."

Ezekiel (xxxv. 7.) speaks in the same strain;

"Thus will I make mount Seir most desolate, and cut off from it him that passeth out and him that returneth."

And in Jeremiah, in Obadiah, in Joel, in Malachi, and in Amos, are similar predictions, foretelling the ruin of Edom, and the utter desolation which should overtake her, and employing, in these revelations of the visions of the Holy One, the boldest figures of Eastern imagery. These oracular denunciations against Edom were uttered by some of the prophets in connexion with similar menaces against Tyre and Sidon, foreboding some great and coming change in the commerce of the world, which should lead desolation in its train. Speaking of Edom the prophet Ezekiel says (xxxv. 4), "I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate;" and of Tyre (xxvii. 27), "Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, ... and all thy men of war that are in thee, and in all thy company which is in the midst of thee, shall fall into the midst of the seas in the day of thy ruin;" and against Sidon he also utters similar prophetic curses, though with less force and precision. And all have been accomplished. The great highway between the Eastern and the Western world was ages ago broken up, the commerce which had enriched the cities of Edom, and of Tyre and Sidon, diverted into other channels, and these marts of wealth and business made desolate; and, at the end of more than twenty centuries, the ruins of these places attest the awful judgments of the Almighty. We can speak from personal observation of Tyre and Sidon, and can testify, that human imagination can conceive nothing more miserable and desolate, than the sites which these proud capitals once occupied.

Mr. Stephens says, it was upon the Nile he first thought of visiting Idumæa, and that his attention was directed to the comments of Mr. Keith, in his "Evidence of the Truth of

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the Christian Religion, derived from the Prophecies," upon the denunciations against that region, and upon their literal accomplishment. As has happened to many other worthy men, the sin of our author came from his knowledge. Had not the learned commentator told him he could not enter Edom, it is not probable he would have made the attempt; and he would then have lost the most interesting part of his journey, and his readers the most interesting part of his book. But we shall let him speak for himself.

"The English friends, with whom I had dined at Thebes, first suggested to me this route, referring me to Keith on the Prophecies, in which, after showing with great clearness and force the fulfilment of prophecy after prophecy, as illustrated by the writings and reports of travellers, the learned divine enlarges upon the prophecy of Isaiah, against the land of Idumea, 'None shall pass through thee for ever and ever'; and proves, by abundant references to the works of modern travellers, that, though several have crossed its borders, none have ever passed through it. Burckhardt, he says, made the nearest approach to this achievement; but, by reference to the geographical boundaries, he maintains, that Burckhardt did not pass through the land of Edom; and so strenuously does the learned divine insist upon the fulfilment of the prophecy to its utmost extent, as to contend, that, if Burckhardt did pass through the land of Edom, he died in consequence of the hardships he suffered upon the journey."

In a note to the subsequent page, Mr. Stephens refers to a continuation of the same views by Mr. Keith, who says, that

"'Sir Frederick Henneker, in his notes dated from Mount Sinai, states, that Seetzen, in a paper pasted against the wall, notifies his having penetrated the country in a direct line, between the Dead Sea and Mount Sinai (through Idumæa), *a route never before accomplished.*' In a note to the same edition, the learned divine says, 'Not even the cases of two individuals, Burckhardt and Seetzen, can be stated, as at all opposed to the literal interpretations of the prophecies. Seetzen did indeed pass through Idumæa, and Burckhardt traversed a considerable part of it; but the former met his death not long after the completion of his journey through Idumæa, (he died at Akaba, supposed to have been poisoned,) the latter never recovered from the effects of the hardships and privations which he suffered there, and, without even commencing the exclusive design he had in view, viz. to explore the interior of Africa, to which his journeyings in Asia were merely intended as preparatory,

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he died at Cairo. Neither of them lived to return to Europe. *I will cut off from Mount Seir him that passeth out and him that returneth.* I did not mean to brave prophecy ; I had already learned to regard the words of the inspired penman with an interest I never felt before ; and evidence I already had of the sure fulfilment of their predictions ; I should have considered it daring and impious to place myself in the way of a still impending curse. But I did not go so far as the learned commentator ; and to me the words of the prophet seemed sufficiently verified, in the total breaking up of the route, then travelled as the great highway from Jerusalem to the Red Sea and India, and the general and probably eternal desolation that reigns in Edom."

The exposition given by Mr. Stephens of this prophecy will no doubt appear to our readers to be the true one. But he seems to have had occasional misgivings, between the literal and the rational construction of the prophetic passages, recorded against Edom, apparently fluctuating between the honor of a first discoverer and the danger of martyrdom. " Meantime, " he says, " so nervous and desponding had I become, that the words of the prophet, in regard to the land of Idumæa, 'None shall pass through it for ever and ever,' struck upon my heart like a funeral knell," and he almost looked upon himself as rash and impious, in undertaking what might be considered a defiance of the prophetic denunciations, inspired by God himself. And, after the journey was happily accomplished, he remarks, " Having regard to what I have already said, in reference to the interpretation of the prophecy, 'None shall pass through it for ever and ever,' I can only say, I have passed through the land of Edom." The fact is not to be doubted ; and it is equally true of thousands, who have pursued this route, since the accomplishment of the denunciations, and before Mr. Stephens traversed it. We feel disposed to shrive the penitent, without subjecting him to a heavy penance.

And if he will follow us in a few observations, we trust the conscience of the Christian may be relieved, while the traveller may yet applaud himself for his enterprise, without apprehension lest a future commentator may arise, and, in his zeal for literal interpretation, trace some untoward calamity (which Providence avert from the author) to this passage through Edom ; as Mr. Keith has traced the deaths of the enterprising Seetzen and Burckhardt to the same undertaking.

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It would appear from the remarks of Mr. Stephens, that Keith contends for the most literal accomplishment of these prophecies. Nothing can be more injudicious. We recommend to the expositor an observation of Bishop Watson, upon the subject, in his "Apology for the Bible." Paine, as well as other irreligious writers before him, had contended for their literal interpretation, and had impeached the authenticity of one of the prophecies relating to Egypt, because its strict fulfilment was irreconcilable with the tenor of history. To this the English prelate answers, "And surely you do not expect a literal accomplishment of an hyperbolical expression, denoting great desolation; importing, that the trade of Egypt, which was carried on then, as at present, by caravans, by the foot of man and beast, should be annihilated?"

There are no portions of the Word of God, whose illustration requires a more chastened judgment, than the sublime but mysterious revelations of the declared purpose of the Almighty, concerning events of coming time. The veil of futurity is partially raised, but "shadows and darkness" still rest upon the view. It is not for the gratification of an idle curiosity, that the spirit of inspiration was given to chosen ones of old, and that its visions beyond the boundary, which separates the present from the future, have come down to us. The past is the province of experience and history. The present, the sphere of immediate action. But the future is wisely withheld from us, that we may pursue our course without presumption or despondency. But, to the end of affording living and perpetual evidence of the truth of the great plan of Christian redemption, some leading events in the history of the world were foretold; too darkly, indeed, to be aided or counteracted by any human agency, influenced by these predictions, but with sufficient precision to apply them, after their occurrence, to the promises and threatenings of judgment and mercy. Their application to the past is a legitimate field of biblical and historical criticism; and wise and learned men have rendered valuable service to the cause of truth by devoting themselves to this department of Scripture illustration.

But let no Christian resort to the Word of God as the curious heathen resorted to Delphi. When visiting that rocky hill, with the ridges of Parnassus impending over us, and the

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dark and deep gulf of the Pleistus before us, seeking the cavern whence issued the oracular responses, and where all the wise and learned and powerful of the ancient world came to ascertain their destiny, how wonderfully was impressed upon us the superiority of the Christian dispensation, over the weak and degrading superstition of the Pagan world. But, he who seeks to know the future, let him seek it where he may, is as rash in his attempt, and will as certainly fail in his expectation, as he who in past ages invoked the priestess of Apollo. The history of the church is filled with these rash efforts to penetrate a barrier which no uninspired eye can pierce; and it is sufficient, in proof of this remark, to recall to our readers the confidence with which zealous but enthusiastic men have applied the scriptural denunciations against the whore of Babylon to the church of Rome, and have boldly predicted, from time to time, its immediate destruction. Year after year has been fixed for this great consummation, but the banner of St. Peter yet waves over the Capitol of the Ancient World, and appearances do not indicate, that the spiritual sovereignty of the Pope approaches its termination. The Tiara may indeed fall; but when, and how, must be left to Him who in his own good time accomplishes his own wise purposes. We are free to confess, that, after having seen and conversed with the Roman pontiff, and heard authentic accounts of the apostolical simplicity of his life and manners, Protestant as we are, we fear the reformed church may find in its bosom worse men than Gregory the Sixteenth.

Let Mr. Keith, then, in his interpretation of the prophecies relating to Edom, confine himself to the past. There is enough in that to occupy his learning and ingenuity. And let him apply to them the canons of rational criticism, and not provoke infidelity by injudicious attempts to establish a literal construction, equally inconsistent with the early manners of the Eastern nations, and with the object which led to these revelations of the shadows of remote events.

We confess our inability to comprehend the purport of Mr. Keith's remarks, or of Mr. Stephens's comments upon them, so far as relates to the literal accomplishment of the denunciations against Edom. We are told, that *none* shall pass through it, which Mr. Stephens says, "seemed in a state of literal fulfilment," "that *no* man shall abide there,

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neither shall a son of man dwell in it," and that "man and beast shall be cut off from it." What mean all this curious research into the routes and success of previous travellers, and the injudicious efforts to connect the deaths of the lamented Seetzen and Burckhardt with their journeys through Arabia Petræa? Are the native inhabitants, who have dwelt from time immemorial in Idumæa, nothing? Are the pilgrims who have traversed it for ages nothing; Christian pilgrims from Gaza to Sinai, and from Sinai to Gaza, Jewish pilgrims from Jerusalem to Sinai, and Mohammedan pilgrims from various parts of Syria and Palestine to Mecca? Even as late as 1811 and 1812, says Burckhardt, the Barbary pilgrims were permitted by the Wahaby chief to perform their pilgrimage to Mecca, by the way of Maan (near Wady Mousa) and Shobak to Hebron, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, on account of the difficulties with Mehemet Ali. This route from the El Ghor to Hebron must have been almost identical with that travelled by our author, who actually fell in with a caravan bound for Gaza.

Do *none*, *no one*, *no son of man*, mean nothing but a European traveller, penetrating into those regions for the gratification of a curiosity, laudable indeed, but comparatively insignificant? And do a Christian divine and a Christian traveller talk of the literal accomplishment of a prophecy thus narrowed in its construction, and seek the death of two martyrs to science in the penalty prescribed in terms against *all* who shall pass out of this denounced land and return? We cannot but recommend to the zealous commentator an admirable paper in "The Spectator," upon this proneness in human nature to trace the events of this life to particular dispensations of Providence, and to point out the moral bonds which unite them; — with that sly humor, which constitutes the charm of so many of these papers, remarking, that, whatever untoward event happens to ourselves is a trial, but that whatever happens to another is a judgment. But Mr. Keith has not the merit of originality in this suggestion. He is the first, indeed, who has applied it to the peaceful traveller. But, more than sixteen hundred years ago, Dion Cassius,* the historian of Trajan's expedition into the East, seems to intimate

* *Hist. Rom.* Lib. 68. § 31. We follow here the common opinion which identifies Petra with *Agra*. But it is of very doubtful correctness; *vide infra*, p. 239. And even the text of Dion in this place is uncertain.

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some mysterious connexion of this nature. After relating the attempt of the Roman emperor upon the principal city of Edom, and his repulse, he observes, that, "not long after this, Trajan began to be sick," of the disorder which terminated his life.

But the penalty of death is not denounced against him who shall pass through Idumæa. The prophecy declares, simply, that none shall pass through it, without limitation and without penalty. But the penalty is, that "he shall be cut off from Mount Seir, who passeth out, and he who returneth." The literal terms would indicate, that the stranger shall not enter; and, if the native inhabitant went out of the country or returned, that he should be subject to the penalty of death.

There is better evidence than the memorandum of Sir Frederick Henniker, of the route pursued by Seetzen. Unfortunately, the entire journals of that enterprising traveller never reached Europe, but, in the "Monthly Correspondence" of Baron Zach, published at Gotha, some of his letters are given, which contain brief notices of his travels. Burckhardt and Laborde both say, he went round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; but we could not find any allusion to this part of his route, though indeed, the work being in German, we were compelled to ask the aid of a friend in our investigations, and lost our patience before we attained our object.

We found, however, a letter from Seetzen to his brother, dated in the East, March 13th, 1807, in which he says, he left Jerusalem and travelled to Hebron, and from that place to a point on the south shore of the Dead Sea, and from there to the Greek convent at the foot of Mount Sinai. He was twenty days on the route, and found the country a waste, of which the mountain range of Seir formed the greater part.

We suppose this is passing through Edom, even enough to satisfy Mr. Keith. But why he or Mr. Stephens doubts whether Burckhardt passed *through* that country, we cannot conjecture. Burckhardt, after leaving Wady Mousa, took the road through the desert to Egypt, and passed through the heart of this region, even according to the map of Mr. Stephens. Some new boundary must be sought for Edom, before this route can be excluded from it; a boundary unknown by any geographer, ancient or modern; and, unless *passing through* means travelling north, as Mr. Stephens went, instead of west as Burckhardt went, our countryman is no more en-

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titled to the claim of passing through Edom than his lamented predecessor in the East.

Besides Seetzen and Burckhardt, Captain Callier, of the French army, travelled in the East, under the orders of his government, in 1834 and 1835, and went from Hebron to Akaba, also through the heart of Edom. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the world the result of his labors. He was eminently qualified for the task, and has returned rich in literary treasures. He found traces of the route described in the Theodosian or Pentanger table, and passed the site of Eleusa, where large remains yet exist to mark the ancient importance of the city, and of Oboda, now called *Abdé* by the Arabs.

Besides these travellers, others, as we shall have cause to mention hereafter, have recently penetrated Edom in various directions ; Mr. Banks and his party, Messrs. Strangeways and Anson, and MM. Laborde and Linant. We say nothing of the travellers and pilgrims of the Middle Ages. Some of these are enumerated by M. Laborde. But it is worthy of remark, that the French crusaders took possession of Kerek, and extended their conquests through Edom to the Red Sea.

This summary is due to truth. It detracts nothing from the just claims of Mr. Stephens. His perseverance, his perils, his enterprise, and his courage, remain to him, and one of the most interesting books of travels of modern times remains to his readers ; one, indeed, of which we are proud as Americans.

Still less does a rational exposition of the oracles of God detract from their authenticity. Edom is desolate, its immense commerce has sought other channels of communication, its cities have become ruins, its population has dwindled to a few miserable, wandering Arabs, and its bright and green spots have been covered by the sands of the deserts. We cannot question the truth of its ancient condition, nor that the "spicy forests of Idumæa" were renowned through the East. And, from the process now going on at Beyroot, it is not difficult to see how natural causes have conspired to give effect to Scripture denunciations, to make the heritage of Edom desolate. Every year the sand, blown by the wind, advances towards the town, and embraces spot after spot, and tree after tree, in its death-grasp. Its progress exhibits, upon a small scale, what Arabia Petræa has witnessed upon a large one. We have learned from Captain Callier, that

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there is the most incontestable evidence, that the southern winds from the Red Sea have, during a succession of ages, been loaded with sand, which has been deposited over the whole region, choaking the streams, and converting the fertile spots into dreary wastes, till "*Edom has become desolate from Teman.*"

Mr. Stephens thus describes the country after leaving Akaba.

"Standing near the shore of the northern extremity of the Red Sea, I saw before me an immense sandy valley, which, without the aid of geological science, to the eye of common observation and reason, had once been the bottom of a sea, or the bed of a river. This dreary valley, extending far beyond the reach of the eye, had been partly explored by Burckhardt, sufficiently to ascertain and mention it, in the latest geography, as the great valley of El Ghor, extending from the shore of the Elanitic Gulf, to the southern extremity of the Lake Asphaltites or the Dead Sea; and it was manifested, by landmarks of Nature's own providing, that, over that sandy plain, these seas had once mingled their waters, or perhaps more probably, that before the cities of the plain had been consumed by brimstone and fire, and Sodom and Gomorrah covered by a pestilential lake, the Jordan had here rolled its waters. The valley varied from four to eight miles in breadth, and on each side were high, dark, and barren mountains bounding it like a wall. On the left were the mountains of Judea, and on the right those of Seir, the portion given to Esau as an inheritance; and among them, buried from the eyes of strangers, the approach to it known only to the wandering Bedouins, was the ancient capital of his kingdom, the excavated city of Petra, the cursed and blighted Edom of the Edomites. The sands of Idumæa lay before me, in barrenness and desolation, no trees grew in the valley, and no verdure on the mountain tops. All was bare, dreary, and desolate."

The geological conformation of this chain of mountains, with the intervening valley, is certainly extraordinary. Commencing upon the Mediterranean, it penetrates Syria, forming the chains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, having in their bosom the valley of Cœlo-Syria, and the superb monuments of Baalbec. It is divided by the Jordan and the Dead Sea, forming on one side the hill country of Judea, and the mountains of Moab on the other; and to the south, the ridge of Arabia Petræa. But the great valley is not shut in upon the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, as might be naturally supposed from the configuration of the country. It extends

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to the Red Sea, and thus forms a deep and clearly-defined valley, from four to eight miles in width, from the northern side of the Lake of Tiberias, to the Arabian Gulf at Akaba, supposed to be the ancient Elath, Elana, or Ezion-geber. Burckhardt first explored that part called *El Ghor*, or *Wady Araba*, and he advanced the opinion, that it had formerly been the bed of the Jordan ; an hypothesis very naturally deduced from the geographical and geological features of the region, and apparently in coincidence with the Scripture account of that miraculous change, which took place in the valley of the Jordan, when the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. Subsequent travellers have drawn the same conclusion, and we have seen that our author advances similar views.

But it is now known, that the Jordan could never have rolled its waters over this valley, and that the previous opinion upon this subject has been hastily formed, from superficial observations, without resorting to those decisive proofs, which have recently given a different aspect to the question. It is stated, in the "Allgemeine Zeitung," of March 24th, 1838, that Professor Schuberl had found the level of the Dead Sea to be five hundred and ninety-eight feet below the level of the Mediterranean, which was itself found to be thirty feet and fourteen inches lower than the Red Sea, by the scientific commission, charged, during the French invasion of Egypt, with the survey of the route of the ancient canal of the Ptolemies, from Suez to the Nile.

We understood, when in Jerusalem, that an effort had been made, by a Mr. Moore and his party, to obtain permission to transport a boat from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea. The sanction of the Pasha had been obtained ; but the enterprising travellers had been prevented, by some of the usual vexations of subordinate tyrants in the East, from the full accomplishment of their purpose. Mr. Moore, however, nothing discouraged, had gone again to Alexandria, to invoke the interposition of Mehemet Ali. We now learn, however, from the abovementioned journal, that the party was composed of two brothers Moore, and of Mr. Bake ; that they transported a boat, by the way of Jerusalem, to the Dead Sea, near Jericho ; and that they set sail on the 29th of March, and explored the Sea, in all directions, till the 17th of April, when they returned to Jerusalem. While upon the Dead Sea, they took soundings through

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a great part of its extent, and made a sketch of a considerable portion of its shores. With respect to the level of the Sea, the result of their investigation agreed, very nearly, with the conclusion of Professor Schuberl. They state it to be at least five hundred English feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem, according to their calculation, is about two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the Sea, and the mountains of Moab are probably about as high, if not a little higher. The greatest depth of the Dead Sea was found to be rather more than four hundred fathoms.

The eye is not an accurate instrument, to estimate the relative height of mountain chains, even when surveying one from the top of another. The Mount of Olives, however, which overlooks Jerusalem, is on the very height of land of the western ridge, the hill country of Judea; and the eastern chain of the mountains of Moab is on the opposite side of the deep gulf, which encloses the Lake Tiberias, Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, and the Jordan. In examining the mountains of Moab from the Mount of Olives, it appeared to us, that the two ridges were about equally high; and we were struck, as we presume all travellers have been, who have ascended that interesting hill, by a singular optical deception. Distances appeared annihilated, and the opposite bare and rocky rampart, from whose top the patriarch of Israel had surveyed the land of promise, across the deep valley, and the mysterious sea, stretched beneath him, and that valley and that sea, — so interesting to the Christian, from the living evidence they offer us, even in their desolation, of the truth of the Scripture record, and to the geological inquirer, from their extraordinary formation, — appeared to be almost within our reach. Even the mirage of the desert, was not more wonderful to us than this delusion, sporting with our senses, while our reason told us, that many a tedious mile intervened between us, and the objects before and below us.

The natural history of the world furnishes another fact of the similar depression of an inland sea beneath the level of the ocean. It is some years since a traveller was led by imperfect observations to suggest, that the Caspian was lower than the Black Sea. The conjecture was advanced with much doubt, and, even when confirmed by subsequent observation, the result was often attributed to an error in the process, rather than to the relative situation of the two seas. Recently, however, the question has been definitively settled by a

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commission sent by the Russian government to explore the Black Sea and the Caspian; and it is now known, that the latter is depressed below the level of the former.

Information, lately received from Palestine, confirms the deductions of Professor Schuberl, and of the Messrs. Moore and Mr. Bake, respecting the relative height of the Red Sea and the Dead Sea. The Count de Berton is now in the East, and has been travelling in Arabia Petræa, sent out by the Geographical Society of Paris, to explore those regions, and especially to examine the natural features of the Valley of El Ghor, and to ascertain, if possible, whether the Jordan ever found its way through it to the Red Sea. A letter has recently been received from him, dated at Jerusalem, April 29th, 1838, which was published in the July number of the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie." He had just returned from Arabia Petræa, and wrote in haste, in order to secure a passage for his letter in the steamboat from Beyroot. He had followed the El Ghor, from the Dead Sea to Akaba. He had visited Wady Mousa, and found a cross, thus formed ‡, at the commencement and at the end of an inscription, and suggests that possibly the Crusader, Renard de Chatillon, stopped there towards 1182, during some of the excursions he made from the Castle of Harek to the Red Sea. M. de Berton made different experiments upon the ebullition of water, from which he ascertained, that the Dead Sea was much depressed below the Red Sea. And, although the process he adopted is not compatible with strict accuracy, still the result leaves no doubt of the superior elevation of the waters of the ocean over the Dead Sea, and demonstrates, that the Jordan has never had its *embouchure* in the Red Sea. He found also, that there is a sensible elevation in the Valley. It rises from the Dead Sea almost as far as Wady Mousa, and the height of land is called *El Sathe* [*the roof*] by the Arabs. To the north of this division, the waters run towards the Dead Sea, and to the south, towards Akaba. On an attentive examination of that portion of the Scriptures, which relates the destruction of the cities of the Pentapolis, he contends, there is no warrant for the opinion, that the Bible furnishes any proof, that the Jordan ever flowed into the Red Sea; but that the contrary conclusion may be naturally deduced from the accounts given by the sacred historian. He supposes that a lake always existed in the vale

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of Siddim, which was a reservoir, formed and maintained by the Jordan ; but that, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the water was fresh, and the country upon its margin, beautiful and fertile. He contends, that, when we remark the minuteness, with which every thing connected with this subject is described, it is not credible, that so important an event as the formation of a lake, and the interruption of the course of a river, would have been overlooked. He thinks there is sufficient evidence in the description of the valley, before the change, that the waters of the Jordan did not reach the Red Sea. The English version thus speaks of the plain of the Jordan, "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar." The French version is much clearer. "Et Lot élevant ses yeux, vit toute la plaine du Jourdain, qui avant que l'Eternel eut détruit Sodom et Gomorrhe, étoit arrosée partout, jusqu'à ce qu'on vienne à Tsoar, comme le jardin de l'Eternel, et comme le pays d'Egypte ;" which may be thus rendered, "And Lot, raising his eyes, saw all the plain of the Jordan, which, before the Lord had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, was watered everywhere, until we come to Tsoar, like the garden of the Lord, and like the land of Egypt."

M. de Berton discovered what he supposed were the ruins of Tsoar, or Zoar. He says, that the discovery caused him a great pleasure, but that, fearing to yield to an illusion, he examined very carefully the environs, to see if any ruins of the city existed there, and that he soon discovered evident proofs of the fact, in the cisterns, hollowed from the rocks ; and this his opinion was strengthened by finding an abundant spring of water. If, he continues, the name of Zoara, which is preserved by the Arabs, were not sufficient proof of the identity of this place, other proofs might be found in the nineteenth chapter of Genesis. When Lot quitted Sodom to repair to Zoar, his wife looked behind, and was changed into a pillar of salt. The mountains, formed of enormous blocks of salt, are west of this place, and there is reason to suppose, that Lot and his family were, at that moment, near those mountains ; for he had reached Zoar, and, fearing to stay there, he took refuge in a cave. M. de Berton does not

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state the exact position of the site, which he supposes to have been that of Zoar ; but, from his narrative, it seems to have been very near the Dead Sea. We have already explained why his letter was so hastily written, and this circumstance has, no doubt, deprived us of many interesting particulars. From the attention recently awakened to the topography of this region, we may soon anticipate a satisfactory description of its peculiar features.

Zoar, called by the Hebrews צֹעַר [Tzoar], is said by Eusebius to have been at the south end of the Dead Sea, as Jericho was at the north. And the description in the tenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Genesis shows, that the country was well watered to Zoar. It is extremely probable, therefore, that a fresh water lake extended to that place. M. de Berton states, that the mountains of salt were worn by the rain water, and that this dissolves the salt, and bears it to the Dead Sea, which thus preserves its excessive bitterness, destructive of all animal life. There is reason to suppose, that the streams had another direction before the convulsion which changed the face of the valley.

But we must return to Mr. Stephens, who is now approaching a lost city, shut up in a narrow valley, and which is certainly one of the most singular remains of ancient art, that have survived the lapse of time. All the travellers, who have visited it, have been deeply impressed with its peculiar character. Solidity is its great feature, for it was hewn out of the rock ; but to this were joined great taste and skill in its plans and construction, evincing a high degree of opulence and an advanced state of the arts. The sketches taken by M. Laborde distinctly show, that the written descriptions are not too highly wrought, exhibiting some of the most interesting remains that we owe to human power and ingenuity.

"In a few words," says Mr. Stephens, "this ancient and extraordinary city is situated within a natural amphitheatre of two or three miles in circumference, and compassed on all sides by rugged mountains, five or six hundred feet in height. The whole of this area is now a waste of ruins, dwelling-houses, palaces, temples, and triumphal arches, all prostrated together, in undistinguishable ruin. The sides of the mountains are cut smooth in a perpendicular direction, and filled with long, continued ranges of dwelling-houses, temples, and

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tombs, excavated with vast labor out of the solid rock; and while their summits present Nature in her wildest and most savage form, their bases are adorned with all the beauty of architecture and art, with columns, and porticos, and pediments, and ranges of corridors, enduring as the mountain out of which they are hewn; and fresh, as if the work of a generation scarcely yet gone by."

"What a people," says M. Laborde, "must they have been, who thus opened the mountain to stamp upon it the seal of their energy and genius? What a climate too, which gilds with its light the graceful forms of a great variety of sculptures, without suffering its winters to crumble their sharp edges, or to reduce in the least their high relief. Silence reigns all around, save when the solitary owl now and then utters his plaintive cry. The Arab passes through the scene, with perfect indifference, scarcely deigning to look at works, executed with so much ability, or to meditate, except with contempt, upon the uselessness of so much labor, expended on an object, which he in vain seeks to comprehend.

"It is impossible, however, by any sketches, to convey to the mind of a person, who has not visited Petra, a just impression of the magical effect produced upon the eye, by the harmonious tints of the stone of which the Krasni is composed, standing out as it does, in a limpid, rosy hue, detached from the rough and sombre color of the mountain. Who can represent those grand outlines, here and there abruptly broken by the jagged forms of the rocks, or renew those traces of ancient splendor, that characterize this fine picture, placed in the great avenue to the city, in order that it might be seen by the whole community, in contrast with the solitude of the ravine, which seems well calculated to heighten its grandeur."

But what wonderful city is this, lost and found, hewn out of the rock, exhibiting such evidence of human power and opulence, in the midst of a frightful desert; of whose progress and fate history has left either no memorial, or none bearing any just proportion to its former magnificence? This question is more easily asked than answered.

The knowledge of a rumor, that there existed another Palmyra in the deserts of Arabia Petræa, we owe to Volney, but Burckhardt was the first who, in 1812, visited these ruins. He was followed, in 1818, by a party composed of Messrs. Banks, Legh, Irby, and Mangles; by Strangeways and Anson, we believe in 1826; by Laborde and Linant in 1828; by Mr. Stephens in 1836; and still later by various other travel-

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lers, and among others, two of our countrymen, Messrs. Robinson and Smith. Burckhardt first suggested the probability, that these ruins were the remains of Petra, and his editor, Colonel Leake, adopted the same opinion, and developed it more fully by an examination of some of the references in history to Petra, and by endeavouring to prove their application to this place. Later writers have expressed the same views, but have done little more than repeat the remarks of Colonel Leake. This conclusion may be just, and has formerly been adopted as such in this journal;* but, as there are yet some doubts upon the subject, we propose to review the question, and to ascertain on what foundation it rests. We are well aware of the difficulty of identifying the sites of ancient places, where history or tradition has not uniformly kept them in view. Accurate local description and investigation were not the peculiar characteristics of the ancient historians and geographers; and an approximation towards the truth is, too often, all we have to expect from the most laborious research.

Petra is from a Greek word, signifying a *rock*, and was applied to many of the towers and strongholds situated upon rocky hills. One in Colchis, upon a "craggy rock," is memorable for its siege and capture in the reign of Justinian. The commentator upon Eusebius and Jerome, the monk Bonfrerius, enumerates five Petras, mentioned in Scripture, viz. the principal Petra, Petra Dividens, Petra Etam, Petra Horeb, and Petra Rimmon.

The principal Petra has, however, till the discovery of the ruins of Wady Mousa, been supposed to be identical with the present Kerek, a name, Burckhardt says, common in Syria. It is situated some distance east of the southern part of the Dead Sea. It is the see of a Greek bishop, whose diocese is called *Petra* in Greek, and *Battra* in Arabic; and Burckhardt states, that the town of Kerek is considered by the clergy at Jerusalem as the ancient Petra. Reland, in his "Palæstina,"† after a laborious investigation, fixes the site of Petra where Kerek now is, and in this he was followed by the learned and accurate D'Anville.‡ There is reason to believe, that there has been a succession of Greek bishops,

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIV. p. 417 *et seq.*
† Page 926. ‡ Vol. II. p. 425.

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from an early age of the church, down to the present day, with their episcopal see at Petra. There was a bishop of Petra at the Council of Seleucis, in A. D. 359, and another at the Council of Jerusalem, in A. D. 536.

And what reasons are offered for transferring this name, with its historical associations, from Kerek to the resuscitated city in the Wady Mousa? Colonel Leake briefly states them, and we propose to follow him in his investigation.

We must remark, however, a looseness of quotation and observation, which is to be regretted in such a doubtful inquiry. Colonel Leake commences his examination, by observing, that the country of the Nabatæi, of which Petra was the capital, is well characterized by Diodorus Siculus, as "containing some fertile spots, but as being, for the greater part, desert and waterless. With equal accuracy," &c. We really see no peculiarly accurate characteristic in this description. It seems to us equally applicable to every part of Arabia, and we may almost add of Africa, where oases are to be found.

Colonel Leake continues;

"With equal accuracy the combined information of Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, describe Petra as falling in a line drawn from the head of the Arabian Gulf (Suez) to Babylon,—as being at the distance of three or four days from Jericho, and four or five from Phœnicon on the Nabathean coast, near the entrance of the Elanitic Gulf,—and as situate in a valley, of about two miles in length, enclosed with a precipice, and watered by a river."

To arrive at the truth, it is necessary to separate what Colonel Leake has here combined, and to restore to Eratosthenes, Strabo, and Pliny, what belongs to each.

The line to which allusion is here made, is to be found in Strabo (Lib. XVI.); but it is described not by that geographer, but by Eratosthenes, upon whose work he wrote commentaries. As we read the passage, the meaning is entirely different from that given by Colonel Leake.

"From Heroopolis, near the Nile, at the bottom of the Arabic Gulf, to Babylon, going by Petra of the Nabathæans, the distance is five thousand six hundred stadia." The original is, *Ἀπὸ Ἡρώων πόλεως ἥ τις ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ Νείλῳ μυχὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ναβαταίαν Πέτραν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, πεντακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι.* Or, to put this expression in a more famil-

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iar form, "From Boston to New York, going by Albany, the distance is three hundred miles." This certainly does not justify the conclusion, drawn by Colonel Leake, that Petra was on a right line between those places, but distinctly intimates it was not. The question indeed is of little importance. We only wonder, that the learned annotator resorted to this dictum, as a proof of the true position of Petra. This line of Eratosthenes was described between the two hundredth, and the two hundred and fiftieth year before Christ, and certainly within a century after the expedition of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, into Arabia Petræa, at which time, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lake Asphaltites was discovered, or in other words made known to the Greeks. Is it credible, in the imperfect state of geographical knowledge at the era of Eratosthenes, that data existed by which the points falling upon a direct line from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, embracing in its course fifteen degrees of latitude, could be precisely ascertained? a line, which presupposes a highly advanced state of astronomical knowledge, and which requires, that the places ascertained to be upon it, should have had their latitude and longitude determined with scrupulous accuracy. He would be a bold geographer, who, at this day, would venture to assert, that Wady Mousa was upon this line. It certainly is not, if the best maps are to be trusted.

The next proof is derived from the distance between Petra and Phœnicon on the one side, and Jericho on the other. This is furnished by Strabo, who says, in the same book, "From this city (Petra) they calculate by the shortest route three or four days to Jericho, and five (not four or five, as Colonel Leake has it) to Phœnicon."

Reland remarks, in establishing the site of Petra, that Jericho is nearly six hundred stadia from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; and that, according to Procopius Cæsariensis, a day's journey was two hundred and ten stadia, which would give the distance from Jericho to Petra, six hundred and thirty, or eight hundred and forty stadia. And it is a fact, that this very passage of Strabo, which is assumed by the English geographer as a proof that Petra is identical with Wady Mousa, is one of the elements employed by Reland to prove that Petra is Kerek. But surely so loose an estimate, which, in so short a distance, may give two hundred stadia, more or less, is entitled to little weight in adjusting the

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rival claims of these two places. Phœnicon, Colonel Leake considers as Moyeleh, at the entrance of the eastern branch of the Red Sea; and between that place and Jericho there must be four degrees of latitude, and one of longitude, upon Burckhardt's map, and probably little less than three hundred miles in a direct line. How much more, by the nearest practicable route, we have not the means of ascertaining. Now it is certain, that no measure of time, deduced from their rate of travelling, and applied to the computation of distance in use among the ancients, would give a result equal probably to thirty-five English miles a day. "Three or four days" is a loose expression; and there has been perhaps some corruption of the text, as we know there must have been in Pliny, when he states the distance from Petra to Gaza upon the Mediterranean, "litoris nostri," and to the Persian Gulf. He calls it six hundred miles, "DC mill." from Petra to the former, and one hundred and thirty-five miles, "CXXXV mill." from Petra to the latter.* A passing glance at the map will show, that the distance from Kerek or Wady Mousa to the nearest part of the Persian Gulf, is more than four times as great as from either of these places to Gaza. And yet this estimate of Pliny has been quoted by Colonel Leake, and after him in the English edition of Laborde,† as one of the proofs of the true position of Petra, without any reference to this gross error.

Both Pliny and Strabo describe Petra. The former (Lib. VI. c. 28.) says, "Nabatæi oppidum includunt Petram nomine, in convalle paulo minus II mill. pass. [not two miles, as Colonel Leake has it] amplitudinis, circumdatum montibus inaccessis, amne interfluente." We quote the original for greater accuracy. Pliny says nothing of its being surrounded by deserts.

Strabo (Lib. XVI.) describes Petra, but does not mention any valley. He says, it is situated on a level spot, (called by the French translator *plateau*, equivalent to our term *table-land*, and implying a high level spot,) and is defended round by rocks, and partly without by steep precipices, but having within abundant fountains for the purposes of irrigation and the cultivation of gardens. He considers it as encircled by a wall; for he says, "Outside of the walls the region is a desert,

* Lib. VI. c. 28. † Page 16.

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especially towards Judea," —"Ἔξω δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου χώρα ἔρημος ἡ πλείστη, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν. This is wholly inconsistent with the peculiar position of Wady Mousa. Mr. Stephens says, the valley of Wady Mousa is two or three miles in circumference, giving at most but one mile in diameter. But it is evident, from the plan of M. Laborde, that this estimate is two large, and the diameter cannot exceed two thousand feet. This space is all filled with ruins, and the sides of the mountain were wrought into buildings, public and private. Laborde further says, that the great importance of this position, as a place of safety, was, that "it was hemmed in by a girdle of rocks, to which there was no ingress, except through a ravine so narrow, that a few men, stationed on the top of the mountain, might prevent any enemy, however numerous, from effecting an entrance into the town." It is obvious, from this description, that this valley could never have been surrounded by a wall, and that such a fortification would have been perfectly useless. Our reader may compare this description of Strabo with that given by Burckhardt of Kerek, and he cannot but be struck with the resemblance. "It is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep valley; the mountains beyond which command the town. In the valley, on the northwest are several copious springs," &c. Strabo, no doubt, received his description from "our friend Athenodorus, a philosopher," who had visited that region, and who was much "surprised to find so many Romans and other foreigners in the country."

Pliny may have been ignorant of the precise relative situation of the hill and valley, and may have considered these as indicated by the very name *Petra*. His description is not inconsistent with this supposition. Colonel Leake, indeed, suggests, that, "to Wady Mousa, though of a different aspect from Kerek, the name Petra was equally well adapted." We confess our incapacity to discover this adaptation. Kerek is on the top of a high hill, and Wady Mousa in a deep valley. The resemblance sought must be found by much such a process, as that by which Fluellen proved, that "in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, the situation, look ye, is both alike." There is not indeed a river at Wady Mousa, but there is a spring, and there is a spring also at Kerek.

The word *Petra*, as we have already stated, is derived

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from πετρα, *a rock*, and was applied we believe without exception to a rocky elevation ; and we imagine all the sites to which this name was given, were strongholds, thus elevated, and easily defended. "The name of this capital," says Dr. Vincent, "in all the various languages in which it occurs, implies a rock, and as such it is described in Pliny and Al Earissi." And the Scripture denunciations against Edom indicate the same natural feature, "I will lay thy cities waste, and thou shalt be desolate. The pride of thy heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose *habitation is high.*"

Colonel Leake remarks, that the latitude 30° 20′, assigned by Ptolemy to Petra, agrees very accurately with the result of the geographical information of Mr. Burckhardt. What this information was, we have no means of ascertaining. We presume, however, it means the estimated courses and distances, pursued by the enterprising traveller, from which his map must have been constructed, probably with the assistance of his able editor. For it is certain, that Mr. Burckhardt had neither the opportunity nor the instruments to make celestial observations. His journey was too rapid and perilous for that; and he, whose clothes could not escape the rapacity of the Arabs, would have sought in vain to transport with him delicate astronomical machinery. The miserable regions, through which he passed, were inhabited by no one, who could give him this "information"; and it requires but little practical knowledge to be convinced how unsatisfactory must be the conclusions, when the elements of calculation are so vague. The assumed latitude, therefore, must be considered an approximation merely ; and that it is not a very close one, may be conjectured from the map in the English edition of Laborde, in which the latitude is laid down at about 30° 50′, at least half a degree north of that assigned by Ptolemy. Unfortunately we do not find any calculations of latitude or longitude in M. Laborde's work, though, from the scientific instruments taken and the time spent at Wady Mousa, there can be no doubt, but that this important duty was not neglected, and that from the results, thus obtained, the map was prepared.

But after all, were the latitude of Wady Mousa correctly given by Ptolemy, we should consider that circumstance an accidental coincidence, rather than a proof to be employed

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upon this question. The ancient observations were notoriously inaccurate, and necessarily so, from the state of astronomical knowledge, and from the process adopted in the determination of positions upon the earth's surface. It is probable, that Ptolemy deduced the latitude of Petra, and of the other places enumerated by him in this region, from the length of the longest day, for this fact is carefully stated in each case. Petra, he says, has for the longest day fourteen hours,* and is distant from Alexandria towards the east, one third of an hour and a tenth. The version of the Amsterdam edition of 1605 (page 205) has it, "horæ $\frac{1}{3}$ et decimâ parte." But, whether the latitude was deduced from the gnomon, or from the length of the day, it is obvious, that the result is too uncertain to settle a question, whose solution, so far as it depends upon the true geographical position of Kerek or Wady Mousa, requires very accurate observations. The uncertainty of these calculations of Ptolemy is apparent when we remark, that he assigns fourteen hours and one eighth as the longest day to Bosra, the Roman capital of Palestine Tertia, and 31° 30′ as its latitude. But Bosra, upon Burckhardt's map, is in latitude (about) 32° 40′, and is nearly a degree and a half north of Kerek, which is about a degree north of Wady Mousa. Ptolemy also states the longitude of Petra at 66° 45′, (thus expressed, 66.$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$,) and that of Bosra at 69° 45′, (69.$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$,) calculated, we suppose, from the meridian of the Fortunate Islands ; making three degrees between Petra and Bosra. Burckhardt's map gives somewhat more than one. But if, indeed, it is assumed, that Ptolemy gives the true latitude of Bosra, and that the distance he makes between those places, upon a great circle, is correct, nearly 1° 10′, then it will be found, that this distance would place Petra very near Kerek. But there is obviously too much uncertainty in these estimates to justify their employment as the basis of any rational historical and geographical deduction.

Colonel Leake deduces another argument, in favor of the identity of Petra and Wady Mousa, from the "vestiges of opulence and the apparent date of the architecture, which are equally conformable with the remains of the history of Petra,

* This element gives a latitude of 30° 48′ 20″, which corresponds at least as well with Kerek as with Wady Mousa, according to our best knowledge of the latitudes of those places. Ptolemy's two statements, if supposed to be exact, are irreconcilable.

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found in Strabo, from whom it appears, that, previous to the reign of Augustus, or under the latter Ptolemies, a very large portion of the commerce of Arabia and India passed through Petra to the Mediterranean, and that armies of camels were required to convey the merchandise, from Leuce Come, on the Red Sea, through Petra to Rhinoculura, now El Arish."

"When the effects of commerce required a situation better suited than Kerek to the collected population and increased opulence of the Nabatæi, the appellation of Petra was transferred to the new city of Wady Mousa, which place had before been known to the Greeks by the name of *Arce* (Ἄρχη), a corruption, perhaps, of the Hebrew Rekem. To Wady Mousa, although of a different aspect from Kerek, the name Petra was equally well adapted; and Kerek became distinguished among the Greeks by its indigenous name, in the Greek form of *Charax*, to which the Romans added that of *Omanorum* or *Kerek of Ammon*, to distinguish it from another Kerek, now called *Kerek el Shobah*. The former Kerek was afterwards restored by the Christians to the Jewish division of Moab, to which, being south of the river Arnon, it strictly belonged, and it was then called in Greek *Charagmoka*, under which name we find it mentioned as one of the cities and episcopal dioceses of Palestine. When the stream of commerce, which had enriched the Nabatæi, had partly reverted to its old Egyptian channel, and had partly taken the new course, which erected a Palmyra in the midst of a country still more destitute of the commonest gifts of nature than Arabia Petræa, Wady Mousa was gradually depopulated."

And the writer goes on to state, that Kerek again became the capital.

This is the history of Petra Mousa, as related by Colonel Leake, and adopted by all the travellers who have followed Burckhardt. And yet it is one of the most extraordinary historical narratives on record. Scattered facts have been collected from the ancient writers and brought together, and the deficiency has been supplied by deductions, without any discrimination between the authentic and the conjectural portions of the picture. And, still more, it has been assumed, that there were two commercial Petras, and then the narrative has been broken and transferred from one to the other, at pleasure. *Not the slightest intimation has been given by any ancient author, that there were two commercial Petras.* Kerek, till the discovery of the ruins of Wady Mousa, was universally supposed to have been Petra. Colonel Leake

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assumed, that that city was in the valley first explored by Burckhardt, and then applied himself to discover its history. If there were but one Petra, then the partition of facts, made by Colonel Leake between them, is without foundation ; and if there were two, no mortal tongue can tell, which of the few occurrences, related by the ancient authors, belonged to one, and which to the other.

The first part of the preceding quotation, relating to the trade of Petra, affords a proof of the amplification in which this subject has been fertile. We will give every word, that Strabo says upon the subject, to which reference is here made. He is treating of the circumstances and result of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, sent by Augustus to subdue Arabia Petræa; which expedition failed, through the treachery of a Nabatæan general, named Syllæus, who had joined the invading army with five thousand men. This general had persuaded the Roman leader to construct a fleet at Suez, in order to reach Leuce Come by sea, assuring him he could not march by land. He followed this advice, and many of his vessels, with a portion of his troops and baggage, were lost; whereas, the historian supposes, this disaster might have been avoided, had he taken the land route, which in fact existed; "the commercial caravans," says Strabo, "going with all safety from Leuce Come to Petra, and from Petra to Leuce Come, in troops so numerous, that they do not differ from armies." On this little incidental paragraph is founded all that Colonel Leake gives of the history of Petra from Strabo.

It is not easy to reconcile any site assigned to Petra, with our present knowledge of the commercial routes, intersecting Arabia Petræa during the period of its opulence. Our information upon that subject is unsatisfactory ; but we know, that an interchange of the various productions of the East and West was early maintained, and both sacred and profane history have many allusions to it. The general purposes and course of this commerce are sufficiently obvious, and they have been elucidated by modern writers (and particularly by Heeren), who, after comparing the ancient authorities, have set themselves to investigate the questions connected with the sites of Ophir and Tarshish, and with many other points involved in this complicated subject. One important fact must be kept in view, that the ancients were not expert mariners, and that they dreaded, while they magnified, the perils of the ocean. "The longest route by land, and the shortest

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route by sea," seems to have formed their axiom of transportation. Caravans of camels, from the various ports upon the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the coasts of the Mediterranean, crossed the intervening territory of Arabia Petræa, which was then enriched by a profitable traffic. But it is vain to seek, at this time, the history of the tides of this commerce, the fluctuations it underwent, and the causes of its successive abandonment of established routes, and the substitution of others. Nor can we determine, why it was directed upon certain points, distant from a direct line, between the terminating *dépôts*. We have already seen, that there was an established road from Suez to Leuce Come, by the way of Petra. The exact position, indeed, of Leuce Come is unknown, but it was no doubt a port on the eastern branch of the Red Sea. A slight inspection of the map will show that Petra, whether the historian intended to describe Kerek or Wady Mousa, is far from a direct communication from Suez to the Elanitic Gulf. And the same difficulty occurs concerning the transportation of products from Elana or Leuce Come to Rhinoculura, otherwise El Arish. These points are respectively upon the Red Sea and upon the Mediterranean, and are very little further from each other than Petra is from Rhinoculura. Why this long *détour* was made, we have no means of determining. We should be almost tempted to deprive both Wady Mousa and Kerek of the name of Petra, and to place that commercial metropolis to the northwest instead of the northeast of Akaba.

But the difficulty is more obvious when we reflect, that there was a direct communication, according to Pliny, between Petra and Palmyra, and another between Petra and Damascus, by which last the intercourse was, probably, at one time maintained with Tyre and Sidon. If Wady Mousa is nearer a direct line between the head of the Elanitic Gulf, and the southern coast of the Mediterranean, Kerek has a similar advantage in relation to the eastern route. Colonel Leake supposes, that Kerek was the first *dépôt* of this trade, but that Wady Mousa was afterwards selected for this purpose, because "it was better suited to its collected population and increased opulence." Here both fact and reason are assumed, for history gives not the slightest indication of such a change. In what this superiority consisted, Colonel Leake does not state, and it would be difficult to conjecture. Not in its greater capacity to supply the agricultural products

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required by such a trade ; for he says, " Wady Mousa was situated in a less fertile country than Kerek." Not in its greater security ; for we learn upon the same authority, that the latter was more easily defensible than the former. Not in its facility of access ; for it would be difficult to select a site more inconvenient than Wady Mousa for a commerce requiring armies of camels. Situated several miles from the direct route, which must have been necessarily left in the rear, attainable only by a long, narrow, precipitous path, occupying a deep, circumscribed valley, and surrounded by a region incapable of furnishing the necessary provisions, it presented precisely those features which *armies of camels* should avoid.

It is amusing to remark, by what slight indications Colonel Leake establishes his historical theory. Our readers have observed, that his narrative attributes the decline of Petra to the successful competition of Palmyra, and gravely states the circumstances. And upon what recorded facts is this part of the history founded ? Why, upon a comparison of the architecture at Wady Mousa and at Tadmor, from which it results that Palmyra flourished at a later period than Petra. *Voilà tout !* It must have required an acute judgment to weigh the architectural merits of those cities of the desert, at the time Colonel Leake wrote, when no modern traveller but Burckhardt had visited Wady Mousa, nor did he, as far as we can discover, make any drawing of these ruins. Later travellers have shown, that they contain a mixture of the Grecian and Roman styles. Petra was subdued in the reign of Trajan, at the commencement of the second century after Christ. Assuming that this was at Wady Mousa, the Roman portion at least of the architecture must have been created after that time. Its period of opulence had not then passed away.

This is also the period assigned by Gibbon for the construction of the immense fabrics, whose ruins yet exist to attest the site and power of Palmyra.

" Palmyra, insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city ; and, connecting the Roman and Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than one hundred and fifty years in the subordinate though humble rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticos of Grecian architecture, whose ruins,

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scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers." — *Decline and Fall*, &c. Vol. I. p. 345.

Architectural chronology must be a much more exact science than we have had any reason to believe, if, by a comparison of the style of architecture of two cities in Arabia, both of which flourished in the same age, and whose monuments were probably constructed in the same century, we can now ascertain, which preceded the other in time, so as to make that fact the basis of an important historical deduction. But the narrative of the revolutions of Petra seems to grow as it passes from hand to hand. Colonel Leake's abstract of its progress and fate is more sober than the picture presented by his successors. Mr. Stephens considers Wady Mousa as the Selah of the Scriptures, captured by Amaziah; from the earliest period, the seat of the commerce of the precious commodities of the East, the place whence "the king of Arabia" issued, and advanced to Jerusalem; M. Laborde as the place, which Pompey marched to attack, but did not reach, and where Trajan was repulsed. According to Mr. Keith it was the rock, which resisted the efforts of Demetrius, and "he who entered Babylon retreated before the capital of Edom." It seems the fashion to attribute to it all that sacred and profane history has recorded of any rock, fortress, or city of Edom.

Whether this *deep valley* of Wady Mousa was the *Selah*, being the Hebrew [סֶלַע] for *Petra*, or the *Rock*, captured by Amaziah, after the defeat of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt, or of Jericho, is mere conjecture, and should have been given as such. We must resort to a kind of *lucus a non lucendo* analogy, before we discover any adaptation in the name.

As to the "Palace of the King of Arabia," if he had one, for we find no mention of it, it was probably in his capital; and this capital, says Josephus, was formerly called *Arce*, but now *Petra*, and in it lived the King of the Arabs.

Nothing but great carelessness could have led M. Laborde to identify the rock besieged by Demetrius with Wady Mousa. It appears by Diodorus Siculus, that Antigonus sent two expeditions into Arabia Petræa. The first was under Athenodorus, who advanced to a rock, Petra, upon the top of which the Arabians had deposited their wealth and their non-combatants, and after having left a sufficient guard to defend the place, they took to the desert, in order more easily to

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harass the invaders. This Petra was very strong, but unwalled, and there was but one way up to it, which was made by art. The place, however, was taken; but the invaders held it only three hours and then retired. Afterwards, Antigonus sent his son Demetrius into the country. He besieged the rock, Petra, but was repulsed. And this Petra, says M. Laborde, was Wady Mousa.

During Trajan's celebrated expedition into the East, he marched into Arabia Petræa. He attacked the city of Agra, which is supposed to have been Petra; why, we have not been able to discover; and we have already taxed our own patience, and that of our readers too much, to follow the vicissitudes of this lost town through any more strange, repulsive-looking tomes. But, whether the description of Trajan's attack corresponds with the natural features of Wady Mousa, let our readers judge.

The historian Dion Cassius says,* that neither Trajan nor Severus could take the place, though they demolished a *part of the walls*, and that Trajan sent his cavalry to reconnoitre the breach, who, however, were repulsed, and hastily returned to the camp. The Roman Emperor then rode himself round the wall, though, to avoid being known, he took off his royal robe. The barbarians, however, discovered him by his bald head, and his *air*, *full of venerable majesty*, and endeavored to hit him with arrows, and actually killed a horseman who was about to join him.

Here was a walled city, round which the Roman Emperor rode, and which he, one of the ablest generals of antiquity, attacked with cavalry. Of all possible positions, these circumstances agree the least with the confined valley of Wady Mousa, defended by an eternal rampart of inaccessible rocks.

The names assigned to Petra by Colonel Leake, furnish no clue for the discovery of the labyrinth. Josephus, in his "Antiquities," † states the metropolis of the Arabs is a town formerly called Arce (Ἀρεκέμην, רֶקֶם) now *Petra*. But this leaves us where it found us, to seek where we can for this city of Petra. We wonder it never occurred to Colonel Leake, in his etymological investigations, to trace the name *Kerek* to this word Ἀρχή, which he supposes a corruption of *Rekem*.

We terminate these *doubts* by observing, that, according to the Theodosian table, and to Ptolemy and Strabo, there

* *Ubi supra*, p. 217, note. † Book IV. chap. 4.

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were many cities between Judea and the Red Sea. We enumerate from Reland the following names of places in Arabia Petræa, situated between 65° 45′ and 68° 45′ east longitude, and between 29° 55′ and 31° north latitude, embracing a space of three degrees of longitude, and one degree fifteen minutes of latitude, — Eboda, Maliatha, Kalguia, Lysa, Gubba, Gypsaria, Petra, Characmoba, Aura, Zanatha, Zoara, Thana, Moca, Necla, Esbouta, Ziza, Maguza, Maduira, Rabmathone; — nineteen cities in a desert, and in so narrow a space, and all lost, most of them irrevocably. Even should it be ascertained that Wady Mousa is not the commercial Petra of Idumea, here are names enough to employ the learning and ingenuity of the profoundest scholar, and among which he may perhaps ascertain the one formerly appropriated to the singular valley, and occupied by the everlasting monuments, first explored in modern days by the enterprising Burckhardt.

There is one point relating to the position of Petra, which, from its connexion with Scripture geography, we propose to examine with some attention. Colonel Leake remarks;

"But among the ancient authorities regarding Petra, none are more curious than those of Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome; all persons well acquainted with these countries, and who agree in proving, that the Sepulchre of Aaron in Mount Hor was near Petra. From hence, it seems evident, that the present object of Mussulman devotion, under the name of the Tomb of Haroun, stands upon the same spot as has always been regarded as the burial-place of Aaron, and there remains little doubt, therefore, that the mountain to the East of Petra is the Mount of Hor, of the Scriptures; perhaps an Arabic corruption of Mosara, where Aaron is said to have died."

All the travellers who have visited Wady Mousa have ascended this mountain, except Burckhardt; but he, with the others, considered it the Mount Hor of the Scriptures. The description, given by Mr. Stephens, is powerful;

"If I had never stood on the top of Mount Sinai, I should say nothing could exceed the desolation of the view from Mount Hor; its most striking objects being the drear and rugged mountains of Seir, bare and naked of trees and verdure, and heaving their lofty summits to the skies, as if in a vain and fruitless effort to excel the mighty pile, on which the High Priest of Israel was buried. Before me was a land of barrenness and ruin, a land accursed of God, and against which the

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Prophets had set their faces, the land, in which it is thus written in the book of life," &c.

But we proceed to inquire what proof of the identity between the mountain which overhangs the Valley of Mousa, and the Mount Hor of the Scriptures, is furnished by history or ancient geography. Colonel Leake invokes the testimony of Josephus, of Eusebius, and of Jerome, as persons well acquainted with the regions of Idumæa. But it should be remembered, that the fact of which they speak is purely a traditional one, and that, from the era of Aaron's death to the time of Josephus, almost as long an interval had elapsed as from the age of Josephus to our days ; and that, with respect to the two Christian fathers, the period was much greater. If we advert to the legends and traditions, which are associated with many of the events of Christianity, both in Palestine and elsewhere, and supported apparently by credible testimony, and trace their little coincidence with the Scripture accounts, we shall be inclined to be rather skeptical upon kindred subjects. But Colonel Leake is inaccurate again in his quotation. No one of these writers speaks of the Sepulchre of Aaron. They say only, that he died upon Mount Hor, near Petra. Josephus is in all hands, and the truth of our remark with respect to him may be easily verified. As Eusebius and Jerome are not so readily referred to, we quote their remarks.

Eusebius says ; " *Hor*, a mountain on which Aaron died, near the city of Petra, on which even now is shown the rock struck by Moses." *

Jerome's words are ; " *Or*, a mountain, in which Aaron died, near the city of *Petra ;* where even at the present day is shown the rock, which being struck, Moses gave water to the people."†

This correction is worth more than at first it appears to be. The text of Colonel Leake would seem to imply, that there had always been a tomb upon Mount Hor, and that this tomb had always been regarded with veneration. Had such been the fact, the value of the tradition would have been greatly enhanced.

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* "Ωρ, ὄρος ἐν ᾧ τελευτᾷ Ἀαρὼν, πλησίον Πέτρας πόλεως, ἐν ᾧ καὶ εἰς ἔτι νῦν δείκνυται ἡ ἐπὶ Μωϋσέως ῥύσασα πέτρα. — *Onomasticon.*

† " *Or*, mons in quo mortuus est Aaron juxta civitatem Petram ; ubi usque ad præsentem diem ostenditur rupes, quâ percussâ Moyses aquas populo dedit."

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But Eusebius and Jerome have committed an obvious error, which evinces the facility with which they received traditional accounts, and the little care they took to investigate them; and thus impair, not the truth of the testimony, but the weight of the evidence. The tradition had increased between the time of Josephus and the age of these Christian fathers, for they add, that, upon Mount Hor, "is shown to this day, the rock, struck by Moses." We are not driven to explain why such a miracle was wrought in such a place, a spring opened upon a high mountain, for the supply of a moving nation, because this account is contradicted by the Scripture narrative. It was at Kadesh, or Kadesh-barnea, for it is called by both names, that the rock was struck, as is shown in the twentieth chapter of Numbers, from the first to the twelfth verse. And we are told in the twentieth verse, that "the children of Israel, with the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor." It was the sister of Moses, Miriam (Numbers xx. 1.), who died at Kadesh, where the rock was struck, and where the gushing waters gave to the parched Jews one of the most beautiful illustrations of the power of the Almighty, and of his kindness towards them, which were furnished during their long perigrinations through the wilderness.

The book of Numbers, commencing at the tenth chapter, contains a narrative of the migrations of the children of Israel, from the time they left Mount Sinai, until they reached the country upon the East bank of the Jordan; and the first three chapters of Deuteronomy contain an abstract of their whole journey, related by Moses to the assembled people of Israel. The general facts stated in these records are the same, and, in the details, there is as little difference as could be naturally expected between accounts prepared at different times, and for different purposes; the one being designed for an historical narrative, and the other for a succinct sketch related to a prodigious multitude, illustrative of the wonderful interpositions of Providence in their favor, and preparatory to the legacy of wisdom which their leader was about to bequeath to them. His work was finished; he stood upon the border of the promised land; and, though he could see it from Pisgah, it was not given to him to enter it.

This memorable journey of the children of Israel has attracted the attention of critics and commentators, from the

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earliest period of the church. That there are difficulties which cannot be easily surmounted, in tracing the exact route of this great caravan, and in identifying the site of each encampment, may be easily admitted. Four thousand years have passed, since this wonderful event. Nations have risen and decayed, where the Jews travelled. The face of the country has changed, and many a fountain has been choked, and many a fertile spot been laid waste by the sands of the desert. It is only wonderful, that so much remains to attest the truth of a narrative, written forty centuries ago. The Red Sea remains ; Mount Sinai remains ; the mountains of Seir remain ; the face of the country remains, with its sands indeed increased, and its *oases* diminished, the necessary consequence of the loss of its population and agriculture, but with its general features unchanged ; and remain also, as unchanged as any of these, the character, manners, and customs of the nomadic tribes, who then, as now, roved over the country with their flocks and herds. He who seeks the truth, cannot fail to be struck with all these wonderful coincidences. And, if he meet some difficulties he cannot reconcile and explain, let him recollect, that similar difficulties meet us in all history, ancient and modern. In the short period of our own national existence, how many historical points have we which have been asserted, denied, canvassed, and yet remain *sub judice*. There are well-authenticated facts of recent date, which, if they had come to us from a remote period, would have been received as utterly apocryphal. If the early historians of Rome had told a tale like that of the Man with the Iron Mask, we should have rejected it as a fiction of the imagination. We should say, no important personage disappeared from the theatre of action, about the period of his arrest ; and the precautions used could only be credible, if applied to some one, whose personal character and influence, while it rendered him dangerous to the state, rendered it also of the last importance, that his name should be concealed ; and that, after his death, secrecy was neither necessary nor practicable. And yet this incident occurred in France, before Europe, and the riddle is yet to be read.*

* We are tempted to insert an interesting anecdote, upon this subject, which leaves no doubt, but that the secret has perished ; and it enhances the difficulty, by showing in what manner the mystery was transmitted, and by

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Burckhardt supposes that Kadesh, the most important intermediate station between Mount Sinai and Mount Hor, was in El Ghor, or the great valley; but this conjecture is unsupported by a single fact. In Numbers xx. 1, Kadesh is said to be in the desert of Zin, which was west of Edom, and south of Judea. It was upon the *coast*, or border of Edom. And in Joshua, xix. 3, the line of the tribe of Judah is described as passing along Zin, and ascending upon the south side unto Kadesh-barnea, and thence to the Mediterranean. This place was, therefore, on the south side of the wilderness, and situated beyond where the line turned west, to ascend or pass along its southern border. All this is entirely irreconcilable with the position of El Ghor, which from the earliest period had been the inheritance of Esau.

M. Laborde, however, lays down the position of Kadesh more correctly. For he says,* that, after the defeat of the Israelites by the Petræan tribes, and the refusal of the Edomites to admit them into their country, "they descended into El Ghor," &c. As this refusal occurred at Kadesh, that place must have been west of the valley.

It appears by the sacred historians, that, after having occupied the regions in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai more than a year, the great Jewish encampment was broken up by the divine command. "Ye have dwelt long enough in this

what obligations it was preserved. It was related by the present King of the French, and we had it from the *best* authority.

The King at his first interview, after his visit to the United States, with the late Charles X., then Monsieur, and formerly Comte d'Artois, was asked by this prince, whether he knew who was the Man with the Iron Mask. The King said he did not, nor did he think it was known to his father, the Duke of Orléans, for he presumed, had it been otherwise, he should have heard the subject mentioned. Charles X. then said, "I did not know, but it might have been transmitted in your family, from the regent Duke of Orléans, who knew it, and communicated it to Louis XV. This fact," he continued, "I acquired in this manner. During the reign of Louis XVI., I one day suddenly entered his apartments, and found the Queen, Marie Antoinette, strongly urging the King to disclose to her the name of that singular state prisoner. The King told her it was impossible, for he was under a solemn obligation to reveal it only to his successor, and that it had come to him from Louis XIV. through the regent Duke of Orleans, and his grandfather Louis XV. "But," the King added, "if I were at liberty to tell you, you would be surprised at the importance which has been attached to this incident." The thread was cut by the revolution; for, during the latter days of his life, the unfortunate monarch had duties more serious, than the perpetuation of this traditional narrative.

* Page 138, of the English edition.

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mount." "Turn ye, and take your journey." (Deuteronomy 1. 6 and 7.) At that time, the Lord had given to the Jews the "Mount of the Amorites, and all the places nigh thereunto in the plain, and in the hills, and in the vale, and in the south, and by the sea side, to the land of the Canaanites, unto Lebanon, unto the great river, the river Euphrates." (Deuteronomy 1. 7.) And they were then directed to proceed immediately to take possession. "Behold, I have set the land before you; go and possess the land." (Deuteronomy 1. 8.) Before, however, the Jews commenced an expedition which would inevitably lead to hostilities, they determined to send out what in our Western country would be called an *exploring party*, and what is termed in the Scripture a party of spies; and the instructions given to Moses, upon this occasion, are remarkable for their practical good sense. The party was directed "to see the land, what it is, and the people that dwelleth therein, whether it be good or bad, and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether tents or strong-holds; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring up the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the first ripe grapes."

This *exploring party* accordingly proceeded upon their dangerous tour, and penetrated to Hebron, which identifies the portion of the Canaanitish frontier, to which Moses intended to conduct his countrymen. "And the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, (not the Edomites,) dwelt on the mountains." These little tribes probably occupied all the country west of Canaan; and we may reasonably conclude, that Kadesh was not far from a direct line between Mount Sinai and Hebron, and that the intervening passes were occupied by a race distinct from the Edomites, with whom, as the descendants of Esau and their "brethren," the Jews were ordered not to "meddle." The spies returned in safety, and agreed in their report upon the fertility of the country, but differed in their estimate of its strength, and of the power of their people to force a passage. Two of them counselled an immediate advance; but the others, yielding to their fears, propagated the most alarming reports, representing the cities as being great, and walled up to heaven, and the people, sons of the Anakims, as greater and taller than the Israelites. Fear immediately gained the

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ascendency in the Jewish camp, and with it came the usual reproach and lamentation, that Moses had led them, and that they had followed him, out of Egypt. The performances of the past, and the promises of the future, were equally disregarded. "Would to God, we had died in the land of Egypt," was the emphatic declaration of the multitude. During their whole route, whenever any difficulty occurred, they contemned the injunctions of their divine guide, and the remonstrances of their faithful leader, whose task, looking at the nature of the regions he traversed, and at the number and temperament of his countrymen, was one of the most irksome and responsible on record; and they longed for the "flesh," and the "fish," and the "cucumbers," and the "melons," and the "leeks," and the "onions," and the "garlic," of Goshen. And, by the by, it is worthy of remark how, in this instance, as in so many others, the Scripture narratives are corroborated by the existing habits and manners of the Eastern nations. Every traveller in Egypt must have observed the immense quantity of these vegetables which are consumed there, and the large proportion which they furnish of the subsistence of the inhabitants. And it is thus we every day receive some new confirmation of the truth of the oldest and most authentic record of human history.

But the representations and the efforts of Moses were unsuccessful. "*Notwithstanding all, they would not go.*" Then the Lord, indignant at their ingratitude and perversity, doomed them to that long and painful sojourn in the wilderness, the incidents of which are almost all lost; and interdicted to those of the nation, who were then over twenty years of age, except the faithful spies, Caleb and Joshua, the entrance of the promised land. "Surely they shall not see the land which I swore to their fathers." Then followed the terrible denunciation. "Your carcasses shall rot in this wilderness."

The Israelites, with that inconsistency which was so prominent a trait in their character, being terrified at the wrath of God, and at the malediction issued against them, and hoping to avert the decree, resolved to attempt to force a passage by the direct route, as they had at first been commanded. And, although Moses warned them not to go up, "for the Lord was not with them," still they persisted, and met the just reward of their new disobedience; for the "Amalekites

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came down, and the Canaanites, which dwelt in that hill, and smote them, and discomfited them, even unto Hormah."

But two routes, to attain their land of refuge, were then open to them; one through the country of the Edomites, and probably by the valley of El Ghor, and the other to the east of the ridges of Seir, passing by the head of the Red Sea, attaining the high level country, beyond the present Akaba, and skirting the eastern frontier of Edom; following nearly the present road pursued by the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca. The former was the shorter; but it was necessary, before taking it, to obtain the permission of the king of Edom; not only because the Edomites were powerful, but because the Lord had prohibited the Israelites from "*meddling*" with them. An embassy was therefore despatched to the Edomite capital, asking a free passage through the country, and urging in support of it the ties of consanguinity which united the descendants of Esau and of Jacob, promising to "go by the king's highway, and not to pass through the fields or vineyards, nor to drink the water of the wells." But the king of Edom gave a peremptory refusal to this request, and embodied his forces for the defence of his country. It is probable he occupied a position upon his frontier, near Kadesh, upon the *coast*, till his dangerous neighbours had passed; for we are told, that "Edom came out against him (Israel) with much people, and a strong hand; wherefore Israel turned away from him, by the way of the Red Sea."

All direct access to their desired resting-place, through the heart of the Edomite dominion, being thus barred, there remained to them only the route by the head of the Elanitic branch of the Red Sea, and by the high plains skirting the eastern base of the mountains of Seir. It was, accordingly, at Kadesh, that the order was given to change the direction of this great moving colony. "But as for you, turn ye, and take your journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea," &c. (Deuteronomy i. 40.) "Then Edom refused to give Israel a passage through his border, whereupon Israel turned away from him, and the children of Israel, and the whole congregation, journeyed from Kadesh, and came unto Mount Hor;" And after this follows the episode of Aaron's death and burial (Numbers xx. 21, 22, et seq.). And the position of Mount Hor is described, (Numbers xx. 21,) as being upon the *coast* or border of the land of Edom, suffi-

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ciently indicating its position upon the frontier, and probably without it; for we have just seen, that even the border was interdicted to the wanderers. Kadesh and Mount Hor being upon the frontier, and the king of Edom being in the field to watch their movements, there can be little doubt but that the Jews, in marching from the former place to the latter, kept on the outside of the boundary, while the king of Edom accompanied their movements with a corps of observation within.

After this general view of the situation and objects of the Israelites and Edomites, can it be supposed, that from Kadesh the former did not *turn away*, but made an irruption into the very heart of Edom, and took possession of the mountain overlooking what Mr. Stephens, and others before him, have maintained to be the capital? Such a conjecture is not only gratuitous, but is in direct opposition to the whole narrative, to the progress and result of the negotiation, and to the Almighty prohibition. All commentators agree, that the mountains of Seir, extending south of the Dead Sea and round El Ghor, were the cradle of the Edomite power, the place where Esau established himself, and whence his descendants extended themselves into the circumjacent regions. No position ever assigned to Edom would make El Ghor its western frontier.

The conjecture of Colonel Leake, that Kadesh may have been in El Ghor, or the Wady, and that the Israelites would therefore pass down that valley to the Red Sea, is unsupported, as we have already shown, by the Scripture geography. It would exclude the whole of that great valley from the Edomite dominions, and after all would leave the real difficulty in full force. For the Israelites, to reach Mount Hor, must have left the valley of El Ghor, — their only path, says Colonel Leake, to the Dead Sea, — and proceeded up the Wady Mousa to Mount Hor. The distance we have not the means of ascertaining, for none of the travellers through this region furnishes us with accurate geographical details; but, judging from the map of M. Laborde, it cannot be less than fifteen miles; and this by a route, described by Mr. Stephens as a "continued ascent," which "was difficult," "where our camels toiled laboriously," and where even the "sure-footed Arabians often slipped upon the steep and rugged path." And the whole Jewish nation clambered

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along this almost impracticable road, for no other reason, that we can discover, but to come back again.

Mount Hor is probably to be sought in some of the extensive ridges, which border the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, and of which Mount Sinai is a prolongation on one side, and Lebanon on the other. The word Seir* seems to have been applied to the whole chain south of the Dead Sea; and the spot rendered memorable by the death of Aaron was certainly west of El Ghor, and probably in a northwestern direction from Akaba, among the mountains designated in that quarter upon M. Laborde's map.

From Arabia Petræa our author entered Palestine by the way of Hebron, and passed on to Jerusalem. He describes his impressions, when first he came within view of this city, *the* city we may well say, whose associations are as imperishable as its everlasting hills. The contrast between the sombre picture sketched by Mr. Stephens, and the bright and vivid coloring of Dr. Clarke, is an extraordinary proof of the different aspects, which the same object often presents to different travellers. Dr. Clarke's glowing account of his approach to Jerusalem is as follows;

"Ascending a hill towards the south, — 'Hagiopolis!' exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade; and, instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis; presenting a magnificent assemblage of

* That there are other parts of this chain, than those about El Ghor, specifically designated by the name of Seir, is proved by Deuteronomy ii. 2. "'There are eleven days, by the way of Seir, from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea.' The Mount Seir, here described, being between Mount Horeb and Kadesh-barnea, must have been west of the valley of El Ghor.

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domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance." — Clarke's *Travels*, p. 286.

Mr. Stephens says, soberly, and without displaying the slightest enthusiasm,

"Stopping to water my horse at a fountain in front of the monastery, I turned to take a last look at Bethlehem; and, my horse moving a few paces, when I turned again I saw in full view the holy city of Jerusalem. I did not expect it, and was startled by its proximity. It looked so small, and yet lay spread out before me so distinctly, that it seemed as if I ought to perceive the inhabitants moving through the streets, and hear their voices humming in my ears. I saw that it was walled all around, and that it stood alone, in an extensive waste of mountains, without streets, or even a solitary habitation beyond the walls. There were no domes, steeples, or turrets, to break the monotony of its aspect, and even the mosques and minarets made no show. . . . . But all was tame and vacant. There was nothing in its appearance which afforded me a sensation."

Our own impressions, when we first saw the fallen city, from the top of one of the many rugged hills, which surround it, accorded much more nearly with those described by the American than those of the English traveller. But the difference in these pictures does not arise solely from a difference in the constitutions of the artists. Jerusalem is upon an inclined plane, opening to the northeast, and presents its fairest prospect to the traveller approaching it upon the road from Damascus, which, we believe, was the one followed by Dr. Clarke. But, from the south, the eye meets the higher part of the city, and rests almost exclusively upon its bleak hill and upon its dark and naked wall. It is indeed no longer "fretted with golden pinnacles," but neither did it strike us to be so utterly disconsolate in its appearance, as it is described by Mr. Stephens.

Our author pays a just tribute to the urbanity of the Mutselim, a governor of Jerusalem, and expresses much solicitude for his fate. He says;

"Some months afterwards, at Genoa, I saw a brief article in an Italian paper, referring to a previous article, giving an

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account of a then late revolution there, in which the Governor was on the point of falling into the hands of the insurgents. I have never seen any account of the particulars of this revolution, and do not know whether he is now living or dead. In the East life hangs by so brittle a thread, that when you part from a man in power, in all probability you will never see him again. I can only hope, that the Governor of Jerusalem still lives, and that his condition in life is as happy as when I saw him."

We can tell Mr. Stephens, with pleasure, that his hope has been fulfilled. There was no revolution in Jerusalem; the power of Mehemet Ali is too strong for that. His worthy friend, however, has retired to private life, and as yet avoided the bowstring. When we were in Jerusalem, all Christian tongues spoke his praise, and, perhaps, with the more sincerity, as he had been recalled and succeeded by another less kind and considerate. The story ran, that Moslem intolerance had been excited by the favor he exhibited to the Christians, and that such representations had been made to the Viceroy, as led to a change. We met him afterwards at table, in Damascus, and a fine picture he was of the Turkish gentleman of the old school. He was living in a retired way, but respectably; and we were happy to render him a slight return for his kind bearing to our worthy missionaries and countrymen at Jerusalem.

The Prince de Joinville, the third son of the French King, recently travelled in the East. After his arrival in France, the King, with that true sense of propriety, which distinguishes him, despatched a sloop of war to Beyroot with ample presents for all who had been attentive to his son. The worthy Governor we have mentioned was in office when the young Prince was in Palestine, and attended him through his government. Before the presents arrived, he had been superseded and had left Jerusalem. Owing to some misapprehension, those to whom the duty of distribution was intrusted, presented to the successor what ought to have been given to the predecessor. We heard of this *contretems* on our arrival at Damascus, not from the party, but from a Christian consul, and, on arriving in France, we took care, that the facts should be known in the *right* quarter. Nothing more was necessary to insure the proper correction of the error. And we do not doubt, that the worthy

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Mutselim has many a time since looked with complacency upon the *backsheesh** of the Christian Sultan.

Jerusalem has been a fruitful theme in the journals of the travellers. Tradition has marked the spot of every interesting incident, which the Scriptures record as having occurred within its walls. Credulity and skepticism have equally examined and discussed these legendary tales. Men of the ardent temperament of Chateaubriand and Lamartine believe every thing; while others, like Volney, whose mental temperament is different, believe nothing. *Probably not one stone of ancient Jerusalem remains in its place.* They point to a part of the foundation of the walls, facing the valley of Jehoshaphat, where are some large blocks, apparently of an earlier age than the rest of the structure, and consider these as the relics of the ancient city. But this is a mere conjecture, resting upon no established proof. Jerusalem has been swept with the besom of destruction. The imprecations against it have been fulfilled. The Assyrian, the Greek, the Roman, the Crusader, the Turk, the Egyptian, have marched over its walls, and established their camps in its holy places. Superstition, fanaticism, revenge, have conspired to sweep away its monuments and to make it desolate. The great features of its topography no human power can change. They have been imperishably marked out by an Almighty hand. Its site occupies the projecting point of a high hill, bounded on the east by a deep, narrow valley, successive portions of which were called the valley of Kedron, of Jehoshaphat, and of Siloam, in the bottom of which flows the brook Kedron; and on the southwest and south by the valley of Sihon, where trickles the little stream called Gihon. These rivulets unite, a short distance below the pool or spring of Siloam, and wind their way among broken mountains to the Dead Sea. On the northwest the city joins the table-land of the country, and it is in this direction, that it has been successively enlarged and contracted, as prosperity or adversity augmented or diminished its population. And, although it has been supposed by some writers, that the ancient city extended across the valley of Gihon, yet the conjecture has been advanced solely to render the legen-

* The Arab word for presents, which is dinned often enough into the ears of every traveller in the East, to make him nervous.

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dary sites of some of the miraculous events, which occurred within its walls, consistent with Scripture narrative, and is contradicted by the nature of the ground ; for it is unreasonable to suppose, that the advantage of a strong position would be abandoned by enclosing a deep valley, when there was space enough on the table-land for indefinite extension.

He who visits the various sites enumerated by tradition in Jerusalem, should visit them without investigating too narrowly the evidence by which they have been established. He cannot, indeed, be far wrong; for the compass, within which the facts occurred, is but a narrow one. And there is an indefinite sentiment of awe and veneration, in believing we are standing upon the very spot, where our Saviour was judged, was crucified, or was buried. If there were no idle mummeries around one, this feeling would be deeper and holier ; but it is impossible wholly to abstract ourselves from the circumstances with which superstition has invested these places. Still, the moment when he stands upon the hill of Zion is an era in the life of any man ; and he feels more concentration of existence at that instant, than is given to him to experience upon any other spot on the face of the earth.

Without the circuit of Jerusalem, uncertainty ceases. The Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, Mount Gihon, the Mount of Evil Counsel, the pools, the fountains, the brooks, all remain as in the brightest days of Bible history ; deprived, indeed, of all their marble monuments, constructed when Solomon made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and when cedars were as the sycamore trees in the vale for abundance ; but impressive and interesting in their desolation. And he who can roam among these solitary places, without feeling his faith strengthened and his heart touched, has none of the true characteristics of a pilgrim, and will find himself a stranger in the Holy Land.

Our author had too much of the true spirit of a pilgrim not to visit Jericho, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea. His recital of the journey is lively and amusing, and we have nothing more to expect from any traveller at this day. The country has been too often described, and its historical incidents too often recalled, to allow writer or reader to find any novelty upon the path. A more dreary-looking region we never saw but once, and that was upon the River Ontonogan,

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which enters Lake Superior upon its southern side, and which, for barrenness and desolation, may have a rival, but can have no superior upon the face of the earth. And to those, who know the acuteness of the Indians, in directing their course through the forest, it is a sufficient proof of the nature of this district to say, that an active Chippewa, who was with us, was unable to thread his way out of this labyrinth.

From Jerusalem to the precipitous cliffs, overlooking the plain of the Jordan, the country offers a succession of high sharp hills, without trees or any kind of verdure, and covered with black, rugged rocks. The narrow path winds its way amongst these stupendous masses, following the gullies worn by the watercourses, until it attains the brow of the ridge, looking down upon the valley, the river, and the lake. And a quiet-looking sheet of water it is; but oh! how different from those beautiful reservoirs, which our own beloved country spreads out, embosomed among green and fertile hills, and variegated by all that can render them pleasant and useful. Within this vale there are no trees, no vegetation, no inhabitants, no domestic animals; for a few miserable wandering Arabs are not enough to form an exception. Neither is there any soil to minister to the wants of man; for a saline incrustation, deposited by the fogs of the sea, covers the earth, and is destructive to vegetable life. The descent of the mountain is so precipitous, that great care is necessary to prevent accidents. When we made this journey, the faithless guides were desirous we should pass the night at the miserable residence of the Sheick on the ruins of Jericho; but, knowing the dirt and worse than dirt of an Arab village, we determined to avoid it. We were told, there was danger from some of the wild tribes, if we stopped short; but we put our faith in the terror inspired by the name of Mehemet Ali, and slept soundly and safely at the spring of Elisha, and blessed the prophet for his miraculous intervention, which had converted the saline waters of this lovely fountain into as pleasant a draught as ever delighted a thirsty traveller. If this is not the fountain of the palm trees, where the Christian Knight and the Saracen Emir kept truce together, after the combat recorded in "The Talisman," we know not where to seek it. The topography, indeed, of this region is not in strict keeping, in this most interesting romance; but, though false to fact, it is true to

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nature. If the pilgrimage of the Scottish crusader led him to the convent of Santa Caba, in the desert of Saint John, his visit to the Dead Sea was a work of supererogation to himself, but most acceptable to the reader; who finds in the description of this *détour*, some of the most powerful delineations of natural objects, and some of the most striking incidents, which we owe to the admirable genius of Scott.

The reverberation of the sun's rays gave to the vale of Siddim an equatorial heat in the month of August, and we raised ourselves from the fount of Elisha, and resumed our route to the Dead Sea, before the dawn of day, to avoid, as much as possible, the noontide sun. We traversed much of the space between Jericho and the shore of the lake in the night, and a most impressively mournful ride we had of it; over barren sands, covered here and there by low, stunted bushes, every now and then striking us in the face, to warn us, as it were, that the home of the wild Arab was around us. And, as the streaks of morning light dawned over the mountain of Moab, a most extraordinary spectacle presented itself to our eyes; an army appeared upon the dreary, deserted sand, between us and the dark water, which stretched away beyond our view, lost in the high ridges, which overhung it. No deception was ever more complete; for long ranks of soldiers seemed drawn up, marching and countermarching in all directions, with great regularity. It looked as if the genius of the place had embodied his forces, to bar all access to his gloomy dominions. And it was only as the day advanced, and as we approached the shore, that our formidable enemy assumed the peaceable shape of countless flocks of birds, of the heron species, who, the Arabs say, come to pass the night upon the sand, and in the day seek their food among the reptiles in the mountains. The immensity of their numbers exceeded all imagination; and, if the regions of Palestine are fertile in nothing else, they must be most prolific in snakes, if the Arab *natural historian* may be trusted. And this is the Dead Sea, and below these dark waters are the sites, perhaps the ruins of Sodom and Gomorrah, such as "when the smoke of the country went up, as the smoke of a furnace." There is a tale, that nothing living, not even a bird, can ever cross this sea. But there is no need of imaginary stories to heighten the desolation of the scene, and we, as well as other travellers, can testify to its inaccuracy, by our

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own observations. We believe, however, that its waters are unfavorable to animal life ; and, though a shell or two may be occasionally picked up upon the shore, yet these have been probably brought down by the Jordan. The water is excessively bitter and nauseous ; and, if additional evidence were wanting, we also could testify to its great gravity, and to the buoyancy of the human body, when immersed in it. It is only by much exertion, and for a very short time, that any one can get and remain below the surface.

We went from here to the Jordan, and struck the river, where tradition says, the children of Israel passed over, when they first entered the Land of Promise. On the west side is a low bottom, and on the east a high sandy bluff, and the shores of the river are covered with aquatic bushes. The water was thick and turbid, and the current rapid, and too deep to be sounded, "for Jordan overflowed all his banks, all the time of harvest." And here crossed the Jewish nation, over this turbulent stream, "on dry ground, until all the people were passed clean over Jordan." And we followed their route to Jericho, the frontier city of the Canaanites, where "the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city." There is no city now to take, nor are there any walls now to fall. There are a few miserable hovels, made of rude stones and mud, and the ruined walls of a building of the middle ages, where the wretched Arabs burrow, rather than live. Jericho has disappeared as completely as her rival cities, which sunk before the wrath of the Almighty. And it requires an effort to be satisfied, that here the great miracle, which attended the entrance of the Jews into Canaan, was performed, though the truth of the denunciation is before the eyes of the traveller ; "Cursed be the man before the Lord, that raiseth up and buildeth this city Jericho."

But the length of our article admonishes us, that we must take leave of our interesting companion, and suffer him to wend his way alone to Beyroot, across the hills of Judea, or on the plains of Galilee. And, whatever region we may hereafter visit, we desire no more pleasant guide upon the route, nor a more attracting narrative to recall the mind and manners of the country, after exchanging the excitement of the actual journey for its calm retrospect in the closet.

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ART. VI. — *Remarks on Literary Property.* By PHILIP H. NICKLIN. Philadelphia. 1838. Nicklin & Johnson. 12mo. pp. 144.

IT is universally admitted, that nothing is more manifestly one's own, than the products of his intellectual activity; and there is no species of the fruits of industry, of which the producer has a better title to the benefits; — and never, in the annals not only of legislation and jurisprudence, but also of robbery by sea or land, was a more dishonest and insolent sentence uttered, than that of Lord Camden in the House of Lords, in Great Britain, in the case of Donaldson *versus* Becket and Others,* that "glory is the reward of science, and those who deserve it, scorn all meaner praise." For it was a reply to the author, who was asking for legal protection of his right to what was, by the universal law of nature, his, being the fruit of his labor; and to whom his Lordship, wielding his fraction of parliamentary omnipotence, says, "I take it away from you, and confiscate it to the public use, because you have received an adequate consideration for its value, in the reputation of having produced it." It is as if a martyr, appealing to the justice of a tyrant, should be told, that the crown of martyrdom was an adequate compensation for his life. It is a sheer and flagrant wrong, accompanied by deliberate mockery, that would be disgraceful, even to the red flag.

Among the objects for establishing social institutions, one is, the guaranty, to each member of the community, of his private, individual rights. If any one, by his industry, fabricates a utensil, or produces corn, the law protects him in the use and disposition of the product of his labor. But not so of the author. He, it seems, is an exception to the rule; and joins society, not as a party to the general bond, but as an outlaw, who is among us, but not of us; an infidel, to whom we good Christians, according to the old Roman Catholic doctrine, are not bound by any oath or compact, — or a Jew, to raise contributions upon, and be despoiled. He is a man of too much glory to mind hunger; and so we take away his bread, he himself protesting all the while, that, maugre the glory, he, and his children too, must needs eat.

* 4 Burr. 2408 (1774).

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From the time when literary property became a subject of juridical cognizance in England, down to the statute of 8 Anne, 1710, securing limited copyright, and, indeed, seventy years after the passing of that act, until the decision of the case of Donaldson *versus* Becket and Others, in the House of Lords, the perpetual copyright of the author, or his assignees, was familiarly recognised at Stationers' Hall by the booksellers, and sanctioned by the courts of justice, both in equity and at law. This is called the Right at Common Law; by which is meant, that, merely by the construction of an author's rights and his acts according to the legal principles upon which every man's rights and property are recognised and protected, independently of any express legislation, and then again (at the epoch of that case) by the custom and precedents distinctly traceable through a period of more than two centuries, and, therefore, by the essential and transcendent principle of the unwritten law, an author and his assigns had the exclusive right in perpetuity of multiplying copies of his works, as long as he chose to avail himself of such privilege. This did not amount to a universal prohibition of all publications, except by authors and their assigns; for, as the absolute proprietor of land may dedicate it to the use of the public as a highway, by his acts merely, and without any written declaration, so an author might dedicate his published book to the public use, not only for reading, quotation, and abridgment, and as materials for making other books, which is always implied by the act of publication, but also for the purpose of making and selling copies. And the public were not to be left in doubt, whether the author did thus dedicate the fruit of his labors to public use, since he was presumed so to do, unless he entered the copyright at Stationers' Hall, and gave notice of this fact. This was a notice to the public, that, though he published his work, and sold copies of it, he did this with the reservation to himself, and his assigns, of the right of multiplying copies.

This seems to be very intelligible and very just; since, undoubtedly, the author has the absolute control of his manuscript. The community never pretended to the right of compelling any one either to write a poem for the general benefit, or to publish one he had already written; and, as the author has the control of the publication of his manuscript, it seems to be a natural inference, that he has a right to prescribe the

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conditions upon which he publishes and sells it ; so that these conditions are a part of the contract upon which the purchaser of a copy accepts it. And these conditions, in the above case, are, that he may make use of the copy he has bought for any other purpose, excepting that of multiplying copies. What would be the effect of such a notice, in terms printed in every copy of a work published by the author, has not been the subject of judicial decision ; nor do we recollect, that the right of the author has been put upon this precise ground in any of the cases in which the question of perpetual copyright has been contested. The proper subject of legislation seems to be, in this case, not whether the author shall be entitled to what is his own by the plain application of all the principles by which the great mass of individual rights are regulated, but what notice he shall be required to give, that, by publishing his work, he does not abandon the exclusive privilege of multiplying copies.

But so deeply has the notion taken root, that an author has only a temporary right to an exclusive property in what is more emphatically his own creation than any material product of labor can be, that the framers of our constitution do not seem to have dreamed of his having any thing more than such temporary exclusive right ; since they provided, *for the encouragement of learning*, only that Congress might grant the exclusive privilege of publication for a "limited time." Singular *encouragement* this ! It is as if Congress had been empowered to encourage the fisheries by allowing the fisherman some part, not exceeding nine tenths, of all the fish he should take ; or agriculture, by allowing the farmer some portion, not exceeding nine tenths, of the wheat that might grow upon his own land. Governments seem to consider literary productions somewhat in the light in which they formerly did gold and silver mines ; one fifth, tenth, or twentieth part, and sometimes the whole of the product of which, was reserved to the sovereign in the old charters, by which this continent was originally granted to companies and individuals. There was some basis for these reservations, since the European governments, especially those of Roman Catholic countries, after the Pope had granted them their respective diagrams of latitude and longitude of this hemisphere, claimed the dominion and property of the soil. But to carry this doctrine of prerogative and supereminent dominion into

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the intellectual world, and set up an exclusive right of the public to one tenth, or five tenths, more or less, of the profits or benefits of the literary compositions, which all subjects or citizens whatsoever might spin out of their own brains, is really a transcendent stretch of arbitrary pretension. But, as the constitution gives Congress an indefinite latitude of discretion, as to what "limited time" copyrights shall be allowed for, it leaves room for substantial justice to authors, or, rather, does not impose upon Congress the necessity of a flagrant and outrageous wrong to them, since the period may be so extended, as to be substantially equivalent in present value to a perpetual right.

In the case of Tonson *versus* Collins, which came up in 1760, Mr. Yates was one of the counsel for the defendant, and accordingly argued against the perpetual copyright. Sir William Blackstone was one of the counsel for the plaintiff, and argued very learnedly and ably in favor of perpetual copyright; and one readily recognises, in his remarks upon copyright, in his "Commentaries," the phraseology and mode of presenting the subject adopted in his argument in that case, as reported by himself. Lord Mansfield and the other judges of the King's Bench were in favor of perpetual copyright, but gave no judgment. When the last elaborate case on the question, the final decision of which, on appeal in the House of Lords, was fatal to the rights of British, and, by consequence, to those of American authors, came before the court of King's Bench, the same Mr. Yates, (we take him to be the same,) who had argued for Collins in the former case, was one of the judges of that court, and still adhered to his former opinion against the rights of authors, and dissented from the opinions of Lord Mansfield and the other two judges, who still maintained the perpetual right. The case occupies over one hundred pages in Burrow's "Reports," so that authors were not disfranchised without an honorable struggle. It is not our purpose to go minutely through all the arguments alleged in favor of this sweeping confiscation of literary property; it will be sufficient to state leading grounds.

The bombastic, puerile trash uttered by Lord Camden, on the occasion of the fatal decision in the House of Lords, has already been noticed. "Glory," said he, "is the reward of science. It was not for gain, that Bacon, Newton, and Milton instructed the world." Fine stuff this, to gloss a pillage.

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Yates, — who seems to have emerged and disappeared with this question, — in his argument as counsel in Tonson *versus* Collins, in 1760, and his argument of three hours in length, in Millar *versus* Taylor, 1769, dissenting from the other three judges of the King's Bench, on the subject of the copyright of "Thomson's Seasons," lays down, as one of his main positions, that "nothing can be the object of property, which has not a corporeal substance. There must," says he, "be something visible, which has bounds to define it, and some marks to distinguish it. The property here claimed is all ideal; a set of ideas, which have no bounds or marks whatever. Their whole existence is in the mind alone; incapable of any other modes of acquisition or enjoyment, than by mental possession or apprehension."* "The subject," said Thurlow, afterwards Chancellor, who was also counsel with Yates in the first case, "must be the abstracted, ideal, incorporeal composition. It should," said he, "be something that should be seen, felt, given, delivered, lost, or stolen, in order to constitute property." † "How," asked Lord Mansfield, interrupting him, "would you steal an *option*, or the *next turn of an advowson?*" — a question which presented, in a demonstratively ridiculous light, the sophistry of this objection. The law, as everybody knows, recognises many species of property which cannot be seen, delivered, stolen, &c., such as right of way, of air, light, fishery, common, and the like. The sophistry is double, therefore; first, in assuming that nothing is regarded by the law as *property* excepting corporeal substances, or things having essential reference to such substances; and, secondly, in assuming that, unless you can call the right of the author *property*, it is no right.

Both assumptions are wholly false; the first as we have seen, the second as may be familiarly illustrated. The services of a child are not, any more than the child himself, the *property* of his parent, and yet the parent has an action in case of his being wrongfully deprived of the child's services. A man's reputation is not any species of property, an article of merchandise, a chattel, any kind of goods or effects, by the common law, and yet he has an action for damages against one who libels or slanders him. If we substitute the word

* 4 Burr. p. 2361. † 1 Blackstone's Reports, p. 338.

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right, instead of *property*, we shall readily find, that every man has many abstract rights, which are recognised by the law, and which others cannot violate with impunity. Among these rights, an author or his assignee claims that of exclusively multiplying copies of his work. If the law is disposed to protect this right, what occasion is there for any of this metaphysical jargon about *property*, *substance*, *visible*, *palpable*, *impalpable*, *ideal*, *imaginary*, and the like, any more than in vindicating his right to his good name. It is a miserable libel upon the common law, or statute law, or any body of law, to say, that it is profoundly ignorant of whatever is not a direct object of all or some of the five senses. It is not the law, that refuses to recognise whatever is seen only by the mind's eye; the fault is in the blind judge.

But, then, say the same champions of confiscation, the author, by publishing, abandons his right, or property, or privilege, or whatever he was possessed of, or invested with, before publication. By publication, says Mr. Yates, the author's sentiments, arrangement, and language, "are thrown into a state of universal communication." * "I insist," said Thurlow, "that every subscriber has a right to do what he pleases with the book he has subscribed for." † "Can he complain," says Mr. Justice Yates, "of losing the bird he has himself voluntarily let out?" ‡ And yet the same judge says, "If the author had not published his work at all, but only lent it to a particular person, he might have enjoined that he should only peruse it; because in that case the author's copy is his own, and the party to whom it is lent contracts to observe the condition of the loan. But when the author makes a general publication of his work, he throws it open to all mankind." § This is the *gist* of the argument, and a virtual admission of all that is claimed in behalf of copyright; for if the author can *lend* on condition, why not *sell* on contract with the reader that he may read, abridge, criticize, and make extracts from his work, but shall not multiply copies? The publisher may sell the paper, ink, and binding, with the right of reading or obliterating the printing, or writing, but not of making copies for sale. Now this is precisely what he does, when he publishes with notice of a claim of copyright. We cannot see but that the cases of loan and sale, in

* 1 Bl. Rep. 334. † 1 Bl. Rep. 407. ‡ Millar *v.* Taylor, 4 Burr. § 4 Burr. 2364.

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this respect, are precisely parallel. And if they are so, and Mr. Justice Yates is right in his position about the lent manuscript, this ends the argument, as far as this ground is concerned; and it is, in fact, the main one, and substantially the only one on which the invaders justify themselves. The rest is, for the most part, but spongy declamation, or quibbling metaphysics.

In the discussion in the House of Lords, Lord Kames said, such a right "would be a monopoly more destructive to learning, and even to authors, than a second irruption of the Goths and Vandals." "Monopoly"! as if it were an odious *monopoly*, that a man should have the fruits of his own labor. This is upon a par with the repeal of copyright by the French National Convention, because it had been recognised by law under the description of *privilége*, and so was classed with the privileges of the nobility. What was society instituted for, but to give every man a monopoly of what is his own by the law of nature, and secure it against the rapine of Goths, Vandals, and pirates? As to such a privilege, or rather the concession of such a right, being destructive to authors themselves, the suggestion is too absurd to be seriously answered. It is very true, that publishers would be more benefited than authors themselves. This, however, is a matter of contract between them; and though we may regret, that Milton received but fifteen pounds for the copyright of "Paradise Lost," which yielded his publishers as many hundreds or thousands no doubt, yet he had no reason to complain, any more than any other person who has made a bad bargain. But how Lord Kames could persuade himself, if he did so persuade himself, that perpetual copyright would be destructive to authors, cannot easily be divined. As to the destruction, which would ensue to the public by reason of an author or his assignee having the fruit of his labor, it is by no means to be so greatly dreaded, as that likely to follow from the monopoly, which an agriculturist has of the corn, or a grazier of the meat, which he produces on his own farm by his own labor. It would have been much more plausible, had his Lordship proposed the pillage of the farmers, lest we should be starved to death; for their productions we must have, whereas we really can exist without those of the author, however excellent they may be; and if, instead of scattering them at large by a sale, at a reasonable

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price, he chooses to limit their circulation by a high price, or to absolutely suppress them, he will starve nobody but himself.

But how ridiculous to talk of destruction to the public from the exercise of a right, which was conceded in England for two centuries and a half after the invention of printing, with entire harmlessness? It is evident, that all the destruction, which could accrue from a perpetual copyright, will necessarily ensue from a limited one, which the Goths and Vandals do not object to; for it never has happened, in all the copyrights ever granted, that the public were not supplied with copies in sufficient number, at reasonable prices. The publishers have suffered from surplus copies infinitely more, than the public for want of them. But, if there is danger that some authors may turn dogs in the manger, this is no reason for disfranchising the whole species. The true remedy is, to take their copyright for the public use, and allow them a reasonable compensation, as we take a proprietor's land for a public highway. It is quite a new principle in legislation, to take away the plain and essential rights of a whole class, lest some of that class might, by possibility, injure themselves, for the singular satisfaction of withholding a benefit from the public. If a man should write a book for the public, and, finding the public wanted it, should thereupon withhold it, he would be a suitable subject for guardianship, so that the law already provides against the catastrophe foreseen by this wise legislator.

We have gone over the leading arguments, as far as the question of perpetual copyright has appeared in British jurisprudence, and have only to notice one objection more, which was offered in the British House of Commons, in the discussion of Mr. Talfourd's bill for the extension of copyright, at the last session of Parliament. There is, it seems, in London, an enterprising bookseller, (or book-buyer, we ought, perhaps, rather to say,) by the name of Tegg, who purchases up all the dead stock to be found in the warehouses of the London publishers. A certain member of Parliament, by the name of Taylor, if our memory is not at fault as to the name, made a speech on that occasion, intended, as we understood it, as republished in some of our newspapers, to be against Mr. Talfourd's proposed bill. To show, — demonstrate, we should say, — that the bill should not pass, he enumerated the cartloads upon cartloads of unsalable editions,

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that had been bought up by Tegg, and carted to his premises, to the great profit of the carriers, and the great grief of the authors and publishers, where trunkmakers and readers can be supplied with a pile of books of the size of a haycock, for a song ; whereupon, the said Mr. Taylor seems to have drawn the extremely natural and quite necessary conclusion, that Mr. Talfourd's bill ought not to pass. The logic stands thus, we suppose, — for we are not sure that we fathom it ; — With the present limited copyright, one half of the books go to Tegg's limbo ; therefore, under an extended copyright, they would all go thither ; and thereupon would ensue the destruction to learning and learned men predicted by Lord Kames ; the publisher would be blown into the same region, and readers cease upon the earth ; while Mr. Tegg, and pastry cooks and trunkmakers, would thrive and grow fat. Or the ratiocination may be thus ; A great part of the books published are worth nothing, an utter loss to both author and publisher ; therefore the public ought to plunder the proprietors of those which are worth something. In short, the argument has divers phases, and proves one thing just as well as another. Whether it convinced the House of Commons does not appear, as no vote was taken, the subject having been laid over to the next session ; when we shall learn, perhaps, on the renewal of the discussion, what the number of loads of dead book-stock, carted to Tegg's, has to do with the extension of copyright, more than the loads of other dead stock carried to the provision market.

Our subject is international copyright ; and, in order to present a view of it, we have thus gone over that of copyright to domestic authors ; because the reasons bearing upon the one are, for the most part, applicable to the other. If one had any doubt, that an author, no less than others, has the *right* to demand of society the protection of the fruits of his labor from theft and piracy, he would be convinced of it, by looking at the shallow and dishonest reasons urged against it. We venture to say, that the investigation of the question will lead every fair mind to the conclusion to which Mr. Verplanck and the other members of the committee of Congress came, in their report on the copyright law of 1831. They say ; " Upon the first principles of proprietorship, an author has an exclusive and perpetual right, in preference to any other, to the fruits of his labor. Though the nature of liter-

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ary property is peculiar, it is not the less real and valuable. If labor, in producing what was not before known, will give title, then the literary man has title, perfect and absolute."

What ground of distinction, then, is there between a foreign and a domestic author? If the domestic author has "a title, perfect and absolute," to the profits of his labor, why not the foreign? It is only in the most barbarous and savage countries, that the inhabitants rob and plunder, indiscriminately, all foreigners, who come upon their shores. In all other countries, the persons and property and private rights of foreigners are, in time of peace at least, respected, and protected by law, and, to a great extent, even in time of war. It is true, we send out privateers in war time, to take all the private property of the enemy found at sea; but robbery of unarmed men is not then permitted by land. By what rule of natural or international law, then, are letters of marque and reprisal granted, against all foreign authors, in time of peace no less than in a time of war? If a foreigner brings into the country any material product of his labor, wherever produced, and whether he hail from the rising sun or the setting; whatever his nation, his color, or his product, we receive him hospitably, and extend protection to his person and his property. Why, then, if he brings an immaterial product, a literary work, shall we rob him? The true nature of literary property being once admitted, the right, we say the absolute *right*, of the foreigner to have it protected and guarantied to him follows of course. Among all the objections that we have seen stated to this, we have not met with a solitary one that deserves an answer. The objections are unanswerable, because there is nothing in them to answer.

Mr. Nicklin, for instance, in his little publication in opposition to the proposed law for international copyrights, seems to us to advance very little that needs a reply. He begins by professing a vehement desire for the extension of the period of copyright to American citizens, because, forsooth, he has a most tender solicitude for the rights of poor laborious authors. And whence this solicitude for American authors, when he very coolly recommends piracy upon foreign ones? Almost all the copyrights are in the hands of the publishers, and any extension of the time of those now in existence operates for their benefit; for the law of 1831 operates, and any other law framed for this purpose will operate, in favor of

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the proprietor of the existing copyright, whoever he may be; since it is not easy, and it is doubtful whether it would be right, to give such a law a different effect. Hence the great solicitude of *the trade* for a more adequate protection of *domestic* literary property. But in regard to poor foreign authors, the case is quite different. None of the literary property created by them is possessed by our publishers, who, therefore, demur; and their love of letters, and concern for the rights of authors, abate and die away amazingly in respect to such authors. Accordingly, Mr. Nicklin, in his book, goes into a computation of the number of persons, paper-makers, printers, book-binders, publishers, &c., some thousands, who derive their support from the republication, in this country, of the works of foreign writers, all of whom must, as we understand Mr. Nicklin to insinuate, lose their bread, if a law shall pass granting copyright to foreigners. It is really unfortunate, if we have some thousands of worthy and industrious citizens, whose living depends upon the sacrifice of the just right of alien authors to the fruits of their own labor, by the sale of its productions in our market. But this does not happen to be the case; for the whole objection is removed by limiting the copyright to works, of which only copies published in this country are put into circulation. Justice may thus be done to foreign authors, without depriving our own citizens of their employments. Or it may be required, that copies printed in the United States, shall be kept on sale at reasonable prices, sufficient to supply the demand, and a high duty imposed on imported copies of the same works. Any measure should be adopted, rather than to deprive authors of the profits of their labors.

Perhaps it would be said, that the foreign proprietors will put too high a price upon their copyright. This objection applies to copyrights to our own citizens with the same force as to those to aliens. Experience demonstrates, that a reasonable price is most for the profit of the proprietor, in either case. But of this let the proprietor judge for himself. Men have the privilege of fixing an extravagant price upon the cotton, tobacco, or flour, which they produce, and thus injuring themselves by their own cupidity; and why not indulge authors with the same privilege? But if there is any great danger, that the public may be deprived of the benefit of the works of authors from this cause, this would be a reason,

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not for depriving them of a privilege to which they are entitled, of common and natural right, but for regulating their use of it.

Why, it may be asked, if authors, both foreign and domestic, have so strong a claim to a very extended copyright, that would be equivalent, as far as they are themselves concerned, to a perpetual one, has it not been acknowledged in the legislation of civilized nations? To which it may be replied, that the right of domestic authors is acknowledged in its full extent in some civilized communities, as in Sweden and some of the German states, and to a very considerable extent in every one. Nor are we aware, that the rights of foreign authors are rejected in civilized communities generally. We have not been able to learn, that any distinction is made in England between an alien and a British subject in regard to the privilege of copyright. The statute of 8 Anne, makes no such distinction. The case of D'Almaine and Others, *versus* Boosy,* is an instance of a copyright taken out in England by an Englishman, for a musical composition of a French composer, resident in Paris; the English copyright having been taken out before the publication of the music in France. In the defence of an action for a piracy of the music, no objection was made on the ground of the author being a foreigner. We apprehend, that a foreigner may avail himself of an English copyright, though some specific provision on that subject might be an improvement in the British law.

Movements have been recently made on the same subject in Germany and France; but with what result, we have not learned, nor is this much to the purpose. Before our law of 1831, no country had ever thought of insisting on a reciprocity of tonnage duty on shipping, between itself and other countries. The United States then put forth a general law, for the reciprocal equalization of those duties with all countries, and the principal commercial nations have accepted the proposal. Here was a grand innovation in international legislation, which has swept away the causes of a multitude of vexations to trade, and irritations between nations. It had the effect of putting an end to the exasperating contests of commercial regulations, then going on between France and this country, which might have else led to a spirit of hostility.

* 1 Younge and Collyer, 288.

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If the field were equally open on the subject of international copyright regulations, it would be equally honorable to the United States to take the lead, and propose a reciprocity of copyright privilege with every nation whatsoever, that would accept the proposal. We are late, it is true, having been in some degree anticipated in Great Britain, if not elsewhere; but still not too late to do our country great honor, in further securing to authors their just rights.

It may be made a question, whether we shall not be the losers by such a reciprocity. Admit that we shall be so; shall we deprive individuals of their just rights, by refusing to protect them by law, because we may gain an advantage by doing them a wrong? But how shall we suffer? It will not extinguish the light of science, and bring back the dark ages, if the readers of any foreign work hereafter written, that may be thought worth a copyright here, shall contribute something to the author, as well as to the paper-maker, printer, binder, and publisher, for the pleasure and instruction to be derived from his productions. It will certainly not be pretended, that the general progress of science and learning will be thereby retarded. Of recent modern books, a very large part now in general use, namely, those of our own authors, are subject to copyright. If such future works of foreign authors, as shall be deemed of sufficient importance to secure the privilege, shall be added to the list, the difference in expense, or in the diffusion of knowledge or amusement, will not be perceptible. There would be a certainty of economy in the expense of single copies of works very much read, by reason of the publishers' being able to put out very large editions, or to stereotype, which they cannot now do, because of the necessity of haste, in order to anticipate rival editions; and the larger the number any one establishment can print of a work, the cheaper it can be afforded, as everybody very well knows. But whether it would be so or not, let us honestly pay the author something for his part, — no mean part it must be confessed, — of the labor and expense of supplying us with entertainment and knowledge. He doubtless has strong claims upon us in equity, and in law too, if law and right are synonymous; nor is it apparent how it is less discreditable to supply ourselves with books at his expense, than for an insolvent customer to supply himself with coats at the expense of his tailor.

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But the publishing class, the *trade*, would they lose? It seems that some of them suppose that they should; at least so we infer from their anxiety concerning the loss and damage to the printers, binders, &c. But we really do not see how they would be the losers by the proposed law. Do the publishers now lose by publishing copyright books? We presume not, in general; for in such case it would be great folly to publish so many; and we cannot see how they would be more likely to be sufferers by publishing the books of foreigners, on contract with the proprietors of the copyright, than by publishing those of American citizens under such a contract. Not that it is at all necessary to prove, that they would not suffer by the proposed law, in order to justify it; for here, as elsewhere, throughout the whole argument, we steadily enter our protest against the dishonesty of gaining by injury to others. For if, by doing justice to foreign authors in allowing to them the fair fruits of their labors, any class of our citizens should be deprived of reaping where they had not sown, it would be no good reason against the law. But we really do not see how it can be made out, that they would suffer any damage. And we are very glad to come to this result; for the publishers are a very important and useful class in the community, and the whole public is in fact interested in their prosperity, no less than in that of the other classes; and upright, honorable dealing, in this as in most other cases, works advantageously for all parties. The fact is, that a very large proportion of the American copyrights to foreigners will fall into the hands of American publishers, as do those now granted to Americans; and there is no special reason for supposing, that they would not bargain as sagaciously for the former as the latter.

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ART. VII. — *A Dissertation on the Nature and Character of the Chinese System of Writing; in a Letter to John Vaughan, Esq.* By PETER S. DU PONCEAU, LL. D., President of the American Philosophical Society, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of the Athenæum of Philadelphia; Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, &c. &c. *To which are subjoined a Vocabulary of the Cochinchinese Language*, by Father JOSEPH MORRONE, R. C. Missionary at Saigon; *with References to Plates containing the Characters belonging to each Word, and with Notes showing the degree of Affinity existing between the Chinese and Cochinchinese Languages, and the Use they respectively make of their Common System of Writing*, by M. DE LA PALUN, late Consul of France at Richmond in Virginia; *and a Cochinchinese and Latin Dictionary, in Use among the R. C. Missions in Cochinchina.* Published by Order of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia. 1838. 8vo. pp. xxxii. and 375.

THIS is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable publications of the present day. The able author, — the veteran philologist of America, — was the first writer, who gave to the learned world just views of the extraordinary structure and peculiarities of the aboriginal languages of this continent; views, which were originally opened in his interesting "Correspondence" with the late Reverend Mr. Heckewelder, and in his "Report to the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia" (between the years 1816 and 1819), and which have been more fully developed in the various publications made by him since that period. The last of these is yet hardly known in the United States, in consequence of its being written in the French language, conformably to a rule of the Institute of France, to which body it was offered as a competitor for the prize established by Count Volney for the advancement of Comparative Philology, or, as it is sometimes technically called, *the Science of Linguistics*. The title of it is, "Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical des Langues de quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord." It deserves the more particular notice, as it is the latest work of Mr. Du Ponceau on that subject, and is

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the first instance, within our knowledge, in which an American author has had the distinction of obtaining one of the prizes, offered by the French Institute, for the best essay on any of the literary questions proposed by that learned body. In the present case, the Institute not only did the author the honor to award to him the well-merited prize, but conferred on him the additional distinction of subscribing for a part of the edition, as "a mark of the particular satisfaction," which his profound and learned work had afforded them.*

We have adverted to that work for the purpose of drawing the attention of our readers to the extended and philosophical views, which Mr. Du Ponceau is accustomed to take of the subjects that come under his investigation. Some of the native dialects of America, it is true, had been before observed to abound with highly compounded words; and our venerable "apostle Eliot," in speaking of the Massachusetts Indians and their language, after giving an example of their long words, says, in the quaint style of his age;

> "It seems their desires are slow but strong,
> Because they be utter'd *double-breath't* and *long*." †

Mr. Du Ponceau, however, was the first writer who took a comprehensive view of the languages of the whole continent, and established the general conclusion, that the American dialects, from one extremity of the continent to the other (with perhaps some exceptions), form a distinct class, or family; which, from their highly compounded character, he has happily designated by the term *polysynthetic*.

Now these complex American dialects are at one extremity of the series, or chain, of human languages; while at the other we find the very simple and inartificial language of China; these two extremes, when contrasted with each other, presenting this extraordinary phenomenon, that the savage tribes of the New World, though destitute of all

* The Committee of the Institute at that time (1834) consisted of MM. Destut de Tracy, Raynouard (president), Jay, Eugène Burnouf (secretary), Amédée Jaubert, Reinaud, Flourens. M. de Tracy and M. Raynouard were afterwards succeeded by M. A. Dupin, and M. Feletz; M. Amédée Jaubert being president. The prize question proposed was; "To determine the grammatical character of the Languages of North America, known under the names of the Lenni-Lenapè, Mohegan, and Chippeway." Mr. Du Ponceau's Mémoire was published at Paris, 1838, in 8vo. pp. 464.

† Eliot's "Massachusetts Indian Grammar," in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, Vol. IX. Second Series, p. 243.

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literature and even of *written* languages, are found to be in possession of highly complex and artificial forms of speech, — which would seem to be the result of cultivation, — while in the Old World, the ingenious Chinese, who were civilized and had a national literature even before the glorious days of Greece and Rome, have for four thousand years had an extremely simple, not to say rude and inartificial language, that, according to the common theories, seems to be the infancy of human speech. This phenomenon well deserves the consideration of the philosophical inquirer, and especially of those speculatists, who have assumed a certain necessary connexion between what is considered the refined or artificial state of a language, and the cultivation of the human race ; but it is not our purpose to enter upon an examination of this great question on the present occasion.

Our learned author having, as we remarked, thus investigated the structure of the complex Indian dialects of America, now goes to the other continent, to the

> "plains
> Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
> With wind and sail their cany wagons light," *

and proceeds to examine the true nature and character of the *monosyllabic language of China ;* which, as we have just observed, forms the other extreme of the chain of languages. And, as a general remark, we may here add, with confidence, that the present able work will reflect as much honor upon the author and his country, as his various publications on the American languages have done ; while in Europe it will attract the greater attention, from the circumstance, that the subject itself is more interesting to the learned in that quarter of the world, and that Mr. Du Ponceau has been the first to maintain views of the real nature of the Chinese language directly in opposition to the opinions hitherto entertained by the scholars of Europe. For these reasons, and especially as the reputation of our literature has an interest in the case, we shall devote more space to the subject than under ordinary circumstances we should be willing to do. But, though the discussion may lead to some minute particulars, we have no fears that the subject itself will not possess interest enough to induce readers of all classes to

* Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book III. 438.

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follow us ; not merely professed scholars, but all those persons also, who are ambitious of such a portion of general knowledge upon different subjects, as belongs to what Milton calls a "generous education."

In order, however, to make the discussion more readily intelligible to those readers who may not have directed their attention to the points which have been in controversy among philologists, it will be necessary to give a short account of the study of the Chinese language as hitherto pursued in Europe, particularly in Great Britain and France.

A leading British review several years ago observed, that it was "rather remarkable," that, "notwithstanding the great commercial intercourse which England had maintained with China for more than a century," the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, or *Penal Code* of China, translated by Sir George Staunton in the year 1810, should have been "the first work ever rendered out of that language (Chinese) directly into our own."* The same journal, on another occasion, asked with some emphasis ; "Why has it not been made a point to have Englishmen acquainted with the language of China ? It has been learned by Portuguese, by Italians, by Frenchmen. . . . . The nation, which above all others maintains the greatest intercourse with China ; the nation, which above all has the greatest interest dependent on that intercourse ; the nation, which has had so many of her sons living for so many years on Chinese ground, was under the necessity *of going to Naples for an interpreter, when she thought of sending an embassy to China.*" (!) †

The truth is, however unpalatable a truth it may be, — and we advert to it, not in that taunting spirit which is so often displayed in certain transatlantic journals, but with regret, — the truth is, we say, that the state of Chinese studies in Great Britain, for a long time, and even to our own day, has been comparatively low. A striking illustration of this state of things will be found in the extraordinary and scarcely credible, though well authenticated anecdote of that accomplished scholar, Sir William Jones, (of whom no man can speak but with admiration and reverence,) who is supposed to have translated some Chinese odes, and yet has inserted in his own handwriting, as it is said, on one of the

* *Edinb. Review*, Vol. XVI. p. 477. † *Ibid.* Vol. XIV. pp. 412, 413.

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blank pages of a Chinese manuscript *Dictionary*, presented to the Royal Society, a remark to this effect, — that, if the letters *A* and *B* can be supplied, the work will be inestimable.(!) The defect, as has been observed, was in his knowledge, and not in the dictionary ; for the Chinese have no word which, properly speaking, can be said to begin with the vocal *A*, nor does the power of *B*, as all Chinese scholars know, enter into their language. The same distinguished scholar frankly avows, that "it is to our French neighbours we are indebted for almost every effort, that has been made to elucidate the language and literature of China."

The well-known traveller, Mr. Barrow, who accompanied the English embassy of Lord Macartney to China, became sensible of the general ignorance of the language and literature of China, which at that time prevailed in England. "In Great Britain," says he, "we have known still less of the Chinese language and Chinese literature than on the continent;" and he relates the following amusing anecdote in relation to this subject.

"It is not many years ago, that one of the small copper coins of China, stamped in the reign and with the name of the late *Tchien-lung* (or, as he is usually called in the southern dialect of China, *Kien-long*), was picked up in a bog in Ireland, and, being considered as a great curiosity, was carried to an indefatigable antiquary, whose researches have been of considerable use in investigating the ancient history and language of that island. Not knowing the Chinese character nor their coin, it was natural enough for him to compare them with some language with which he was acquainted ; and the conclusion he drew was, that the four characters on the face [the emperor's name and the value of the coin] were ancient Syriac ; and that the reverse [which are Mantchoo letters] appeared to be astronomical or talismanic characters, of which he could give no explanation [!] " *

Another British writer, the Reverend W. Milne, who was among the first missionaries sent from England to China, states, that when the mission was first suggested (in 1807),—

"There were no helps in English to assist in the acquisition of the Chinese language. England knew and cared little about China beyond its commerce. . . . . Some even doubted the practicability of acquiring the language to any available

* Barrow's *Travels in China*, p. 258, 4to ed.

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degree. . . . . At that time there was *but one British subject* [Sir George Thomas Staunton] who could be said to know the Chinese language ; and he was not then residing in the British dominions."*

It should be remarked, that Catholic missionaries, from France, Italy, and Portugal, had then been in China for about two hundred and forty years ; they had transmitted to Europe, as Mr. Milne candidly states, accounts of every thing that seemed most interesting ; and those countries were "far before our own" in the knowledge of China.†

The apology made for this ignorance, is at once amusing and instructive. The respectable author just quoted says, with much *naïveté* and candor ;

"There were two particular causes for the degree of ignorance in Britain relative to China. One was, the accounts which had been transmitted to Europe by the Catholic missionaries were all published in foreign languages [!], and often in the expensive and unwieldy size of quartos and folios. [!] Some of the missionaries were themselves verbose in the extreme ; and many of their manuscripts had fallen into the hands of diffuse and wordy French writers, who swelled them to an enormous bulk, ... and it required *a considerable knowledge of the French tongue*, and an uncommon degree of leisure, patience, and fortitude, to encounter the fifteen quarto volumes of the *Mémoires*, or to wade through the twenty-six volumes, duodecimo, of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, which also contain detached pieces of information concerning China [!] "‡

Another reason assigned for the prevailing ignorance was, that those who did take the trouble to read the accounts given of China by the Catholic writers, *would not believe them*. Who would have supposed, for example, that the calm and philosophic Adam Smith, in speaking of the accounts of the Chinese roads, canals, and other public works, would have indulged himself in the following coarse language ; which subsequent accounts of China have proved to be unjustifiable ;

"'The accounts of those works, however, which have been transmitted to Europe, have generally been drawn up by weak and wondering travellers ; frequently, by *stupid* and *lying* missionaries. If they had been examined by more intelligent eyes, and if the accounts of them had been reported by *more*

* *Retrospect of the first Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, &c., by William Milne, (Malacca, 1820,) p. 43.
† *Ibid.* p. 44. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

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faithful witnesses, they would not, perhaps, appear to be so wonderful.'*

Yet these accounts of "weak and wondering travellers," and of "stupid and lying missionaries," to which, however, Smith's work is much indebted, are now found to be quite as trustworthy as the accounts we have of most other parts of the globe. So true is the reflection of Sir William Jones, that "we all love to excuse or to conceal our ignorance, and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond the limits of our own attainments; like the savages, who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island, left coral and pearls upon any other shore." †

It is true, indeed, that a considerable time has elapsed since the period just mentioned; and a few individuals have, in the interval, made respectable contributions to the very meagre and scanty common stock of that day. But what advances must we infer to have been made in Chinese studies in England since that time, when we find a leading Review of that country, so lately as July last, gravely appealing to that literary fanatic, De Pauw, and that disgraced literary charlatan, Dr. Hager, as *authorities* on the subject of the Chinese language! ‡ two individuals, who, as writers on this subject, hardly stand high enough to draw upon themselves even the contempt of the continental philologists of the present day. We had really supposed, that the unintelligible Chinese lucubrations of the latter, and his senseless reveries on the Babylonian bricks, had consigned the sheets of his books to other uses than that of serving for authorities even to a hasty reviewer, — *raptus in culinam, vel thuris piperisque cucullus.*

The accomplished English scholar, to whom we have before referred, when lamenting the neglect of the Persian language by his countrymen, observes, with equal elegance and truth, and in terms alike applicable to their neglect of the Chinese, that

"Some men never heard of the Asiatic writings, and others

* Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book V. Chap. 1, Part 3, Vol. III. p. 104, edit. 1822.

† *Persian Grammar*, Preface, p. 1.

‡ *Foreign Quart. Rev.* for July, 1838. De Pauw is well known to scholars, of all countries; and the philologists of the Continent will inform this English reviewer of the true character and value of Hager's speculations.

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will not be convinced that there is any thing valuable in them; some detest the Persians, because they believe in Mahomet, and others *despise their language because they do not understand it;* . . . . . and they would, perhaps, have persisted in despising it, if they had not been animated by the most powerful incentive, that can influence the mind of man, — interest was the magic wand, which brought them all within one circle; interest was the charm, which gave the languages of the East a real and solid importance."*

But if this "powerful incentive" has produced the effect here ascribed to it in the case of the Persian and East Indian languages, yet even this interest, which is not the most honorable national stimulus, has produced but little effect in advancing the study of the Chinese language and literature. What may be the fruits of the lately established Oriental College in Hertford, we have not yet the means of judging; we hope for the best. At present, however, it is a truth, that Chinese studies in England have for some time appeared to be in a languid state, though the past reputation of the national school has been a little elevated by the desultory efforts of a few pious and devoted individuals connected with the missionary establishments; there has been, as Burke once said of a more important subject, a little rippling in that smooth water, which indicates something alive under it.

In France, on the contrary, to say nothing of Germany, — in France, we say, where a stimulus of a higher character than the poor incentive of "interest" has been the moving cause, Chinese studies have advanced within the last thirty years beyond all reasonable anticipation. The names of Rémusat, Klaproth, and others among the dead, and a bright constellation among the living, have, with the patronage of the government, given an impulse, which has enabled France to outstrip her great rival in this branch of knowledge. France was long ago wise enough to see the advantage resulting to her national reputation from the establishment of professorships of Chinese as well as of other languages; and, as a late sensible English writer justly observes, in peculiarly guarded terms, "that nothing of the kind should as yet (1836) have existed in England, is *remarkable.*" † Indeed,

* Jones's *Persian Grammar,* Preface.

† *The Chinese;* by John F. Davis, Esquire, Vol. II. p. 144; published in the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," London, 1836.

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we think it would not be hazarding much, to affirm, that at this moment, a student would be able, in a given time, to acquire a more thorough and exact knowledge of the Chinese language and literature in the Asiatic school at Paris, than he would, even in the city of Canton itself, with the ordinary means which he would there be able to command. We would not be so absurd as to assert, that he would be better able to *converse* in the language, than he would by daily intercourse with natives of the country; but that he would find more aids, adapted to Europeans, for understanding the true nature and character of the language and literature, than he would in any other country.

This state of things is the more "remarkable," as, in addition to the inducements and facilities afforded by the commercial intercourse of England, the Chinese language has a nearer resemblance to our own than to the French, in one of its striking features, the absence of all inflections in the principal parts of speech; so that it is proportionably more easy of acquisition to Englishmen than to Frenchmen. But we must proceed to the work before us.

It is justly observed by Mr. Du Ponceau, that,

"When, in the last century, the Chinese language, through the writings of the Catholic missionaries, became known to the learned of Europe, great astonishment was excited by its simple, ungrammatical structure, by its complicated graphic system, and by the small number of its monosyllables compared with the immense quantity of the characters employed in writing. Every new and extraordinary object must, with the mass of mankind, be a *monster* or a *miracle;* the latter was preferred. Admiration succeeded surprise, and then imagination did its work. The Chinese writing was called *hieroglyphic*, *ideographic*, and said to represent *ideas* entirely independent of *speech*. It was almost exclusively considered as *the* language; and the spoken words were called its *pronunciation*, as if they were only a secondary mode of communicating ideas, and dependent upon the ocular method. At last it was said, that the Chinese *characters* were read and understood, as in China, by nations entirely ignorant of the *spoken* idiom. In short, those visible signs were held up by enthusiasts as a model for an universal language, which should reach the mind through the eyes, without the aid of articulate sounds. These enthusiastic opinions were introduced into Europe by the Catholic missionaries, about the middle of the last century. Those venerable men imbibed them from the Chinese literati, whose national

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vanity is without bounds. They were received as sacred oracles, and spread rapidly among the learned, who, like other men, are apt to be smitten with the wonderful. Even in this enlightened age these opinions are yet supported, to a greater or lesser extent, by men whose judgment in other matters is entitled to the respect of all." — *Dissertation*, p. 7.

The learned author adds, that he might quote, to this point, numberless passages from the writings of the early missionaries, showing the wild ideas which they entertained of the Chinese writing; but he contents himself with citing one example only, which is from Father *Cibot*, who wrote from Pekin, under the assumed name of Father *Ko*, a Chinese Jesuit. That author says, the Chinese characters are composed of symbols and images, which are *unconnected with any sound*, and may be *read in all languages* (!) They form a kind of intellectual, algebraical, metaphysical, and ideal painting, which expresses thoughts, and represents them by analogy, by relation, by convention, &c.*

The history of this prevalent opinion is so remarkable, and so instructive, — by showing us with what servility succeeding writers adopt, without examination, the theories and even vagaries of their predecessors, — that we shall ask the reader's attention to it for a few moments.

The accounts of the Catholic missionaries, to which Mr. Du Ponceau refers, are in substance embodied in the great work entitled "Description Géographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise," by the Jesuit Du Halde; which was diligently compiled from the original "Relations" of the Catholic Missionaries residing in China, and is, notwithstanding its imperfections, the best systematic account of that extraordinary and almost inaccessible people. We are indebted to France also for this work; and, as Mr. Davis observes, in his clever publication before cited, "it is singular, that no general and systematic work on China has ever yet been produced in this country (England). . . . . Père Du Halde's compilation has still remained the only methodized source of information on the subject." †

Now, in respect to the Chinese language, Du Halde, following the enthusiastic accounts of the early missionaries, makes the following remarks;

* *Mém. concernant les Chinois*, Vol. I. p. 22. † Vol. I. Introduction, p. I.

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"The language of China has nothing in common with the dead or living languages, with which we are acquainted. All other languages have an alphabet of a certain number of letters, which by their different combinations form syllables and words; it has as many characters and different figures, as there are words. . . . . The Chinese have two kinds of language; the one, vulgar and in use among the people, which differs in different provinces; the other, which they call the Mandarin language, is very nearly what the Latin is, among us, for ecclesiastics and learned men."

The author then adds the following observations, having relation to the question which is the subject of Mr. Du Ponceau's work;

"The *characters* of *Cochin-China*, *Tonquin*, and *Japan*, are the same with those of *China*, and signify the same things; these nations, however, in speaking, do not utter themselves in the same manner; so that, although the languages are very different, and cannot be mutually understood when *spoken*, yet these nations understand each other very well by *writing*, and all their books are common [!] These characters, in this particular, are like the numerals in arithmetic; various nations make use of them, but give them different names; yet they everywhere signify the same thing."*

This account of the Chinese characters has been adopted, in substance, and apparently without examination, by subsequent writers of all nations. Even Warburton, — whose extraordinary sagacity first penetrated the mysteries of Egyptian hieroglyphics, nearly a century before Champollion pronounced them to be *phonetic*, — even this acute and vigorous thinker adopted the current opinion of the Chinese characters.† But it must be admitted, at the same time, that this was rather a collateral part of his argument on the subject of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and consequently did not call for the same concentrated attention, which he gave to his main subject.

Among the later works, the well-known "Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China" adopts the opinion

* Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, Tom. II. pp. 268–270, 4to. edit. 1736.

† Warburton's *Essay on the Egyptian Hieroglyphics*, (extracted from his "Divine Legation of Moses,") translated into French, and published in 2 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1744.

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stated by Du Halde, and compares the Chinese characters to the Arabic numerals, and the written notes in music, which "are uniform and intelligible throughout Europe, notwithstanding the variety of languages." The intelligent traveller, Mr. Barrow, who was private secretary to Lord Macartney on that embassy, entertained, as we should naturally expect, the same opinion. He says;

"It [the Chinese language] may, however, be considered as the nearest approximation to an universal character that has hitherto been attempted by the learned and ingenious of any nation; each character conveying at once to the eye, not only simple, but the most combined ideas. The plan of our countryman, Bishop Wilkins, for establishing an universal character, is in all respects so similar to that upon which the Chinese language is constructed, that a reference to the former will be found to convey a very competent idea of the nature of the latter. The universal character of our countryman is, however, more systematic and more philosophical than the plan of the Chinese character."

Mr. Barrow afterwards adds the following remarks;

"The sounds and various inflections, incidental to languages in general, are not necessary to be attended to in the study of the Chinese characters. They speak equally strong to a person who is deaf and dumb, as the most copious language could do to one in the full enjoyment of all his senses. It is a language addressed *entirely to the eye*, and not to the ear. Just as a piece of music laid before several persons of different nations of Europe would be played by each in the same key, the same measure, and the same air; so would the Chinese characters be equally understood by the natives of Japan, Tonquin, and Cochin-China; yet each would give them different names or sounds, that would be wholly unintelligible to one another. When on the present voyage we stopped at Pulo-Condore, the inhabitants, being Cochin-Chinese, had no difficulty in corresponding by writing with our Chinese interpreters, though they could not interchange one intelligible word."*

Malte-Brun, to whom we refer not as a very high authority in a question of philology, but because his popular work on geography is in common use, goes even beyond his predecessors, and discovers a deep state policy of the Chinese

* Barrow's *Travels in China*, pp. 250, 256, 4to edit.

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government in compelling the people to adhere to their mother tongue! His words are;

"But the great secret of Chinese policy, and the very basis of the empire, is to be found in an institution which in some measure deprives the inhabitants of the power of forming new thoughts by depriving them of the liberty of expressing them by means of external characters corresponding to the words of their language. Such is the effect of the Chinese mode of writing. It has been compared, though not with much propriety, to the hieroglyphical or figured language of the Egyptians. It can only be compared to those systems of *pasigraphy* or universal character, by which some wrong-headed persons in Europe have brought upon themselves universal ridicule."*

After such opinions it is not very surprising, that a leading British review should have ventured to make such extraordinary statements, and in such a contemptuous tone, as the following;

"The written and spoken language of China, our readers are probably aware, have *no sort of connexion* or relation to each other. Their visible characters represent *things* or *ideas* directly, without any reference to the *sounds* by which the same things may sometimes be expressed. Nay, they represent many things which the Chinese, at least, cannot express by sounds at all. It is a *real* character, in short, which *has nothing to do with words*, and might have been invented by a race of beings who were destitute of the faculty of speaking. . . . . The fact, however, appears to be quite undeniable, that they have gone on for many thousand years *pittering* to each other in a jargon which resembles the chuckling of poultry more than the language of men, and have never yet had the sense to put their monosyllables together into articulate words [!]"†

The latest English writer on China, Mr. Davis, to whose interesting volumes we have before referred, follows in the track of his predecessors in respect to the language of that country. He says;

"The language of China realizes to a great extent the theory of a universal medium for the communication of ideas, as conceived by Bishop Wilkins, and methodized by him into an

* Malte-Brun's *Geogr.* Book XLIV. Vol. I. p. 412, Amer. ed. in 4to.

† *Edinb. Review*, Vol. V. pp. 276, 280. "*Pittering*, making a low and shrillish noise: 'And when his *pittering* streames are low and thin.' *R. Greene, Engl. Parn.* 67. *repr.* Herrick applies it to the note of a grasshopper." — Nares's *Glossary*.

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elaborate treatise which he presented to the Royal Society. While the letters of our alphabet are mere symbols of *sounds*, the Chinese characters or words, are symbols of *ideas*, and alike intelligible to the natives of Cochin-China, Japan, Loo-Choo, and Corea, with those of China itself."*

Such had been the state of opinions among the learned in Europe, for more than a century, as to the real constitution and genius of the Chinese language, when our learned author began to examine into the supposed mysteries of that dialect of human speech; his views of which were first made public ten years ago, in his well-known letter addressed to the celebrated traveller, Captain Basil Hall (on the 7th of July, 1828), and now republished in the Appendix to the present volume. To this letter, as the first in historical order, relating to this subject, we shall now recur; since it contains in a condensed form the substance of such information on this curious and interesting question as our limits will allow us to lay before the reader. Mr. Du Ponceau says;

"I was at first astonished at the wonders, which are ascribed to this mode of *ocular* communication, which appeared to me to be greatly exaggerated; and I determined to pursue the subject as far as my means would permit me. The result of my investigations does by no means agree with the opinion that is generally entertained. . . . . The general opinion which prevails, even among those who are the most proficient in the Chinese idiom, is, that the system or mode of writing which is in use in that country, and which they call the *written* in opposition to the *spoken* language, is an *ocular* method of communicating ideas, entirely independent of speech, and which, without the intervention of words, conveys ideas through the sense of vision directly to the mind. Hence it is called *ideographic*, in contradistinction from the *phonographic* or alphabetical system of writing. . . . . It requires not a little boldness to fly in the face of an opinion so generally received, and which has so many respectable authorities in its support, and none against it but those of reason and fair logical deductions from uncontroverted facts. As you have, however, in a manner challenged me to produce the proof of my assertions, I do not hesitate to do it, in the spirit of humility which becomes me, and submitting the whole to your candor and better judgment.

"This opinion has naturally led to that of the Chinese

* *The Chinese*, by J. F. Davis, Vol. II. p. 140.

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writing being an universal written language, conveying ideas directly to the mind, and which might be read alike in every idiom upon earth, as our numerical figures and algebraic signs are. This idea has been carried so far, that some missionaries have wished, that the Chinese *written language*, as it is called, should be cultivated through the whole world; for then the New Testament, being translated into Chinese, all nations might read it, without learning the spoken idiom, and on a mere inspection of the characters. And, as a proof that this might be done, it has been alleged, that the Japanese, Coreans, Cochin-Chinese, and other nations, could read Chinese books without knowing or understanding the oral language of China. But these are not the only wonderful systems to which this opinion has given rise.

"This writing having been formed, as is supposed, without any reference to, or connexion with, spoken language, a question might naturally arise, which of the two was first invented. Nobody, to be sure, has ventured to say, that writing existed before speech; yet, if that proposition has not been directly advanced, I must say, that sinologists have come very near to it. For instance, they affect to call the monosyllabic words of the Chinese language the *pronunciation* of the characters; which leads to the direct inference, that the *words* were made for the *signs*, and not these for the words. A justly celebrated French sinologist, M. Abel Rémusat, does not, indeed, believe that a language was invented to suit the written characters *after* they were formed; but he supposes, that some then existing popular idiom was *adopted*, to serve as a *pronunciation* to the graphic signs.* One step more (and hardly that) and *written* characters must have been invented before men learned to speak." — pp. 105 – 108.

The learned author then states very briefly some of his reasons for calling in question the prevailing opinion, and for entertaining one directly contrary to it. But as his "Dissertation" exhibits these, and various new grounds of argument, in a more expanded form than was admissible in his "Letter," we shall consider them presently in our examination of that part of the present volume.

The letter to Captain Hall was published by that gentleman in an English scientific journal, ("Annals of Philosophy," for January, 1829,) and, from that circumstance, was not brought immediately under the notice of philologists and

"* *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. II. p. 52."

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others, whose pursuits were purely literary, and who would not resort to a journal of that class for information upon questions in literature. In China, however, Mr. Du Ponceau's opinions excited no little attention among the European residents; who, having by mere practice, and without any study of the principles of the language, become able to chatter fluently, on the affairs of their daily business, in the colloquial dialect of Canton, with a natural self-complacency looked contemptuously upon any individual out of the territory of the Celestial Empire, who should presume to entertain different opinions from themselves, upon the language of China, even though his opinions should be the result of great study and investigation.

Accordingly, in the "Canton Register" (of March 17th, 1830,) we find a notice of Mr. Du Ponceau, and his correspondent Captain Hall, in which the opinions of both are treated with as little ceremony as might be expected under such circumstances. Captain Hall had stated (in his "Travels,") the new views suggested by Mr. Du Ponceau, which struck him with much force; and remarked, that he had himself formerly published the opinion, "that in China, Japan, Corea, and Loo-Choo, though the *spoken* languages were different, the *written* character was common to them all; and consequently, that, when any two natives of the different countries met, though neither could *speak* a word of the others' language, they would readily interchange their thoughts by means of *written* symbols." But he became satisfied by Mr. Du Ponceau's arguments, that this was an error; he very candidly regretted, "that an error of this magnitude in the history of language, should still have currency"; and this regret on his part was the occasion of publishing Mr. Du Ponceau's Letter to him. The writer in the "Canton Register," however, who had on another occasion taken the gallant Captain to task, for his boldness of assertion in the presence of Bonaparte, now censures him for his want of boldness in the presence of Mr. Du Ponceau, and will not permit him to acknowledge, that he had committed any error in the case; but stoutly maintains, that his original assertion was correct; that is, that in China, Japan, Corea, and Loo-Choo, the Chinese *written* language is generally understood, by all who can be said to read and write; and that it is equally certain, that "when any two natives, who can *write* the Chinese charac-

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ter, meet, though neither could *speak* a word of the other's language, they can readily interchange their thoughts by means of the Chinese *written symbols*." The writer in the "Canton Register" adds, that, he has himself interchanged thoughts with Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and Loo-Chooans, by means of the Chinese characters, although he could not understand one word they uttered, nor could they understand his speech. "Therefore, for all practical purposes, whether of religion, science, or commerce, it is difficult to see wherein Captain Hall's first assertion is erroneous." The writer then re-affirms his opinion, that the Chinese character *is* thus generally understood by five nations; and adds, in a peculiarly significant and courteous manner, towards Captain Hall and his learned correspondent, that, "seriously would it be to be regretted, that this fact should lose its hold on the mind of any Christian philanthropist, by the confessions of Captain Hall, before the President of the American Philosophical Society." *

We shall presently see, that, notwithstanding this writer has the advantage of residing on that little, confined spot of the Celestial Empire, which is allotted to foreign "barbarians," and where he ought to have obtained better information, yet he is altogether mistaken in his assertion, that the Chinese *written characters* are common, as a national system of writing, to the five nations mentioned by him. On the contrary, the fact is, that these characters are *not* common to the people of those nations in any other manner than the written words of the *French* language, for example, are common to the nations of Europe; that is, they are common to the people of those nations who have studied and learned to write them; just as among the *spoken* languages of North America, the Chippeway, for instance, is a *common* language of trade and other intercourse with various Indian tribes of totally different stocks; who from this circumstance, however, have been represented, by superficial and blundering travellers, as all speaking the same language, although their respective mother tongues are as unintelligible to each other, as Chinese is to an Englishman.

We shall presently consider this fact more at large; and

* *Canton Register*, March 17th, 1830.

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shall now proceed to the "Dissertation," and other parts of Mr. Du Ponceau's important volume.

After an *Introduction*, which contains a summary view of the main question, the learned author gives us an elaborate dissertation on the subject at large, in the form of a letter addressed to John Vaughan, Esquire, his respected friend and fellow member of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; a well-merited tribute to one, whose zeal and exertions in the cause of science and literature are well known.

It seems, that the circumstance which immediately led to the publication of the present volume was, the receipt of two manuscript Vocabularies of the Cochin-Chinese language, belonging to the valuable collection of that excellent establishment, the East India Marine Society, at Salem, in this State; to which association they had been presented by Lieutenant (now Captain) John White, an enterprising and intelligent officer of the American Navy; whose "Voyage to the China Sea" is well known to every reader, and who has, in the present instance, been the means of rendering an important service to the literature of his country, while he has set an example, which we hope will be followed by his brother officers, who may have the like opportunity of aiding the researches of their countrymen in the fields of literature or science. The history of the two manuscripts is thus given by Mr. Du Ponceau.

"A favorable circumstance brought these manuscripts into this country. In the year 1819, two vessels sailed from the port of Salem, in Massachusetts, on a commercial voyage to the China Seas, and touched at *Cochin-China*. They were, it is said, the first American ships that ascended the Don-nai river, and displayed the stars and stripes before the city of Saigon. On board of one of those vessels was Lieutenant White, of the United States Navy. During his stay in the capital, he became acquainted with Father Joseph Morrone, an Italian missionary, who made him a present of the above mentioned Vocabularies; the one in *Cochin-Chinese and French*, consisting of three hundred and thirty-three words, *with the appropriate characters prefixed* to each; the other, more voluminous, *Cochin-Chinese and Latin*, in the alphabetic form of a dictionary, but *without the characters*."— p. 4.

These two manuscripts are now published, on the suggestion and under the direction of Mr. Du Ponceau, by the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. The first, in two columns, (the

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second column being a comparison of the Cochin-Chinese with the Chinese,) and in an English translation ; the other in its original state, *Cochin-Chinese and Latin.*

Mr. Du Ponceau justly estimates the importance of these manuscripts (which had been requested for publication in France), and observes, what we also believe to be the fact, that no similar work has yet been published in Asia or Europe.

" The languages of Tonquin and Cochin-China," as he remarks, " and, in general, the Ultra-Gangetic idioms, are very little known in Europe, and even in British India. The *Tonquinese* and *Cochin-Chinese* are sister languages to the Chinese, which they not only resemble in the derivation of their words, but in their monosyllabic character and grammatical structure : and their *graphic* system is evidently borrowed from that of China. *A comparison of those languages*, therefore, as spoken, and written, is a subject of considerable interest." — pp. 1, 2.

With the aid of these two Vocabularies, Mr. Du Ponceau has accordingly made the comparison here mentioned ; and this comparison, with the investigations which he has made in consequence, has led him to the results stated in the following propositions ;

" 1. That the *Chinese* system of *writing* is not, as has been supposed, *ideographic ;* that its characters do not represent *ideas*, but *words*, and therefore I have called it *lexigraphic.**

" 2. That *ideographic* writing is a creature of the imagination, and cannot exist, but for very limited purposes, which do not entitle it to the name of *writing.*

" 3. That, among men endowed with the gift of speech, all *writing* must be a direct representation of the *spoken language*, and cannot present ideas to the mind abstracted from it.

" 4. That all writing, as far as we know, represents language in some of its elements, which are *words*, *syllables*, and *simple sounds.* In the first case it is *lexigraphic ;* in the second, *syllabic ;* and in the third, *alphabetical* or *elementary.*

" 5. That the lexigraphic system of the Chinese cannot be applied to a polysyllabic language, having *inflections* and grammatical forms ; and that there is no example of its being so applied, unless partially or occasionally, or as a special, ellipti-

* In the Letter to Captain Hall (page 110), we observe Mr. Du Ponceau uses the word *logographic,* in describing the Chinese system.

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cal, and enigmatical mode of communication, limited in its uses; but not as a general system of writing, intended for common use.*

"6. That it may be applied to a monosyllabic language, formed on the model of the Chinese; but that it will necessarily receive modifications and alterations which will produce material differences in the value and significations of the characters between different languages, however similar in their original structure; and therefore

"7. That nations, whose languages, like the Japanese, and (as it is said) the Loo-Chooan, are polysyllabic, and have inflections and grammatical forms, although they may employ Chinese characters in their alphabet, *cannot possibly understand Chinese books and manuscripts, unless they have learned the Chinese language;* and that if those nations, whose languages are monosyllabic, and who use the Chinese characters *lexigraphically*, can understand Chinese writings, without knowing the language, it can only be to a limited extent, which it is one of the objects of this publication to ascertain."—pp. xxxi., xxxii.

Mr. Du Ponceau adds, with that modesty which his adversaries and critics would do well to imitate;

"Although strongly impressed with the conviction of the truth of these propositions, it is nevertheless with great deference, that I submit them to the judgment of the learned."—p. xxxii.

From this statement of the results, it will be apparent, that the discussion involves a consideration of some of the highest questions in general philology; the examination of which would demand more space, than can be reasonably expected to be devoted to the subject in our pages. We shall, therefore, confine our remarks principally to the simple fact of the true nature of the *Chinese system of writing*; of which we are bound to say, in the outset, that we are inclined to agree with our learned author,—that it is not, as has been commonly supposed, *ideographic*; in other words, that the characters do not present to the mind *ideas* unconnected with *vocal sounds*, so as to make what is called an *ocular* language, of which words are only the *pronunciation*; and, consequently, (as Mr. Du Ponceau observes,) "a system of

"* In our alphabets we have single letters which represent *words*; as A, E, I, and O, in Latin; A and I, in English; E and O in Italian; U, in low Dutch; Y, in Spanish and French, &c. These are at the same time, *elementary, syllabic,* and *lexigraphic.*"

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pasigraphy, to be read alike in all languages; which absurd consequence appears now to be abandoned by philologists."

The argument in support of the *ideographic* nature of the Chinese characters has rested, first, upon the authority of travellers, missionaries, and others, who have visited China; and, in the next place, upon the assumed fact, that these characters are read and understood by the Cochin-Chinese, Japanese, and other nations who speak various languages, and are ignorant of the language of China. Both of these grounds of argument terminate in the simple matter of fact, whether the different nations, alluded to, do understand the Chinese written language, without having ever studied it. We think our author has satisfactorily shown that they do not; and we shall now submit his views to the reader, with such occasional remarks as have occurred to us in following him through his work.

The Chinese language is always described by philologists as a *monosyllabic* language; each syllable is significant, and constitutes a *word*, as we usually denominate it. These words, or syllables, may be joined together in speaking, like our English words, *something*, *sometimes*, or they may be separated, as was formerly the fashion in writing and printing, into two words, or monosyllables; as *some thing*, *some times*, &c. In the rapidity of speech there is no apparent difference in the utterance of these words, whether we analyze them into syllables or not; and it is only by the typographical arrangement of the syllables, that we are aware of any difference, and call them monosyllables or polysyllables at pleasure. It is, therefore, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, of no consequence, whether the Chinese language, *as spoken*, be called monosyllabic or polysyllabic; but it is important to know, that every one of its syllables is a *word*; and, as each character represents a syllable (which is called its *pronunciation*), it necessarily follows, that each character represents a *word*.*

In accordance with these views of Mr. Du Ponceau, we have often thought, that, so far as relates to *spoken* language, the people of all nations, Europeans as well as Chinese, utter themselves, not in single syllables, or words, as we usually call them, but in *sentences*, or *masses of vocal sounds*, each of which sentences or masses may, in a certain sense, be

* Page 19.

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called *a word*, whether it consists of one syllable only or of many. Such is human speech by nature ; and the analyzing of each sentence, or mass, into single words, and each word into syllables, is an artificial process of the grammarians, who philosophize upon the constituent parts of human speech, as the anatomist does upon the component parts of the human body. This analysis, too, is often wholly insensible to the *ear*, and is not perceivable till the vocal sounds are reduced to writing ; then the eye takes cognizance of the analysis, and we make the separate syllables to be words, or parts of words, according to the taste or fancy (with some limitations) which happens to prevail in different ages. In our own language various changes in this respect have taken place within the last century ; and several words which are now written as compounds, were formerly written in their uncompounded state, each component syllable being treated as a distinct word. The words above mentioned, — *something*, *sometimes*, are familiar examples. Words of this class, according to the process which has generally taken place in our language, are at first united into a compound term by means of a hyphen ; by degrees the hyphen is omitted, the component syllables are brought into immediate union, and then constitute what we afterwards call a single word.

Now the effect upon the ear, as we have before intimated, is precisely the same, whether the component syllables of a word, or the component words of a phrase, are written separately or in the united form. For example ; the four monosyllabic words, which compose the familiar question, *How do you do?* fall upon the *ear* precisely like a single word of four syllables ; and the question might (for the ear) just as well be written in one word, *howdoyoudo*, as the monosyllables *yes*, and *no*, in answer to any question. In the same manner, so far as regards the ear, the well known monosyllabic line of Pope, —

"And ten low words oft creep in one dull line,"

might be written either in two or more portions, thus,

"Andtenlowwords oftcreep inonedullline,"

or even as one entire word of ten syllables, —

"Andtenlowwordsoftcreepinonedullline,"

which is but little longer than various words in our language, such as *incomprehensibility*, *incommensurability*, &c.

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This point may be further illustrated by a comparison of the Chinese language itself with our own.

In Chinese (dialect of Canton), *tsam chung*, written as two monosyllabic words, signify a *silkworm*, which we, like the Chinese, might still write in two separate words, *silk worm*, as our fathers formerly did. In Ainsworth's Dictionary, it is so written; Johnson consolidated the two into one word; and our countryman, Dr. Webster, in his small Dictionary (1806), followed Johnson; but in his large Dictionary, we observe, he has changed his opinion, and divided it into two words, with a hyphen between them, *silk-worm*. Again; the Chinese names of the different kinds of tea, are each written in English, as one word (usually a dissyllable), though it is well known, that, to make the English word, we unite two distinct words of the original Chinese; as will be seen by the following examples, in which the word *chah* (still preserved in the Portuguese and Russian languages), is the generic term *tea*, and the accompanying syllables are the specific names:

Sew	chung	chah,	Souchong tea,
Pek	how	chah,	Pekkoe tea,
Mow	ee	chah,	Bohea tea,
Sew	chu	chah,	Gunpowder tea;

in which last example we might in our language have divided the word *gun powder*, and have kept the same number of *words* as in the Chinese. The word *gunpowder* itself is another illustration of this process of compounding and decompounding language. The Chinese, in Canton, call *gunpowder*, *fo yok* (*fire drug*, or *fire physic*), and write it in two separate parts or words; just as we anciently did in English, *gun powder*, and might still continue to do, if custom or caprice had not established a different mode. In Chinese, again, the two syllables *chah che* signify a *tea spoon*, and *chah seong*, a *tea chest*, both of which we still write in two separate words, like the Chinese.

On the other hand, when the Chinese adopt from us a word of more than one syllable, they analyze it into monosyllables, as the genius of their language requires; thus, of the English word *pudding*, they make what we call *two* words, and they write it *poo teen* 布顛 and not *pooteen*, in one, as they might do, so far as the ear is concerned, and in conformity with our rule. We fancy, by the way, that the reader will

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be puzzled to find any thing in these characters *ideographic* of the substantial article of English cookery in question.

We will not pursue these illustrations any further, and will only add, that, as we speak in entire sentences or masses, according to the views above expressed, it would be natural, that, in committing the spoken language to writing, men should at first have written down the consecutive words of a sentence, without any separation, just as we now find them in the most ancient manuscripts.

Adopting, then, as we do, the reasoning of Mr. Du Ponceau, it is difficult for us to resist his conclusion; which is, that the Chinese *characters* are not unconnected with *sounds*, unless it should be contended (as he observes), that a syllable is not a *sound*. A syllable, indeed,

"may by analysis be reduced to more simple elements; but, though composed of those elements, it is still a reverberation of the human voice, produced at once, and in the same breath by the organs of speech. If, then, syllables are *sounds*, monosyllabic words are so likewise; and the *characters* which represent them, cannot be said *not to be connected* with them as such." p. 19.

But at this stage of the argument, we are met by an objection, that the number of characters in the Chinese language is not less than *thirty* thousand, on the lowest computation; and some state it as high as eighty thousand; while the (spoken) *words* do not exceed *two* thousand.

To this objection our author answers, — that the different *characters* are only so many different ways of spelling the same *word*; that a great many of the characters are out of use, and the whole number *actually employed* is very small. In proof of this, we may observe here, that, according to Sir George Staunton, the whole of the *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, or Penal Code of China, which he translated, contains only about two thousand characters.

But the difference, in point of numbers, between the written and spoken words, is not so great as is generally supposed. For, as our author further observes,

"In the first place, there are a great many *homophonous* words, which being pronounced alike, are, I presume, considered as one and the same pronunciation of different *characters*, and not so many different *words*, in relation to their sense. It is the same as if, in our own language, we should consider as one the words *fain*, *fane*, and *feign*, because pronounced alike, although they differ in meaning widely from each other.

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"There is," he adds, "another mode of computation, which is directly the reverse of this. Because the monosyllables of the Chinese language are significant, they alone have been honored with the name of *words*, and their numerous compounds have been left out of view. I have said above, that those monosyllables might be compounded precisely as those of our own language, in *welcome*, *welfare*, &c.; and I may add here, that the greatest part of the Chinese idiom is formed of those *compounds*, which are separated only by the manner in which they are exhibited to the eye, when written. Thus in *our* dictionaries, *shoemaker* is found as a polysyllabic word; while *peartree* is not, but each of its component syllables must be looked for in its proper place, according to the alphabet. And yet it would seem that *peartree* is as much one word in English, as *shoemaker*, *shipwright*, and so many others. There are *English* words, which in *Chinese*, are expressed by *five* significant monosyllables. . . . . It is evident, that nothing is wanting but to give to the Chinese compounds the denomination of *words*, to make that language as rich, perhaps, as those whose composition is disguised by the foreign origin of the monosyllables, or the more artificial manner in which they are joined together." — pp. 21, 22.

The justness of these views cannot be contested by any one who duly reflects upon what takes place in our own language; as has been shown in the illustrations before given.

We shall now proceed to consider very briefly the simple fact asserted by English and other writers, that the Chinese characters are common, as a *written* language, to the Japanese, Cochin-Chinese, Coreans, and some other nations, who, it is asserted, cannot understand each other's *spoken* language.

We begin with the Japanese; and here we find, in the very outset, a marked distinction between this and the Chinese language; that the Japanese is *polysyllabic*, and has declensions, conjugations, &c.; and this structure of the language precludes the use of the Chinese characters *lexigraphically*, (as Mr. Du Ponceau calls it,) without material modifications.

In the next place, the Japanese have a *syllabic alphabet*, or *syllabary*, consisting of forty-seven characters, and called (from its first three characters) the *I-ro-fa*; as ours was originally named, from its first two, the *alphabet*. The knowledge of this very limited number of characters, it is obvious, would not enable a Japanese to read the numerous characters used by the Chinese, whether we reckon them at eighty or thirty thousand, or at a much lower number.

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The truth is, the Japanese adopted from the Chinese as many characters as were required for their language; and of these, four only are now entirely Chinese. Their historians relate, that, in the year of Christ 284, their sovereign sent an embassy to the Emperor of China, to request of him a man to civilize his kingdom. *Vo-nin*, a prince of imperial blood, was sent. He introduced the Chinese civilization, language, and literature; and for a long period there was no written language in Japan, except the Chinese; in which all the learning of the country was contained, just as happened in Italy and France during the dark periods of the Middle Ages, in the case of the Latin language. It was not till the year 733, that a selection was made from the Chinese of *forty-seven* characters, and applied to the Japanese language, by one *Kibi*, a man of high rank, who modified the characters to adapt them to the syllables, of which his alphabet (or syllabary) was composed.

The Chinese language, thus introduced into Japan, still remains there as a *learned language*, and is taught as such. Many of its words, too, have been adopted by the Japanese into their language; and this is also the case in various other countries. The Japanese, therefore, who have *not learned the Chinese* language cannot make themselves understood by the Chinese, in *writing*, any more than in *speaking*. For these views of the language, we refer such of our readers, as may wish to pursue the subject, to the works cited in the margin.*

We may add further, that Chinese books are constantly *translated* into Japanese, and *vice versâ*; but what necessity would there be for this, if the two nations used a *written* language in common? We have now before us a Comparative Vocabulary of the *Chinese*, *Corean*, and *Japanese* languages, originally compiled by a native of Corea, and published at

* 1. *Explication des Syllabaires Japonais*, par J. P. Abel Rémusat. (With plates. Prefixed to the French Translation of Father Rodriguez's "Japanese Grammar," by M. Landresse.) Paris: Dondey Dupré. 1825.

2. *Epitome Linguæ Japonicæ*, auctore Ph. F. Siebold. pp. 70. (With plates. In the XIth Volume of the *Bataviaasche Verhandelingen.*) Batavia. 1826.

3. *Sur l'Introduction de l'Usage des Caractères, Chinois au Japon, et sur l'Origine des différents Syllabaires Japonais*, par M. Klaproth. pp. 30. (With plates, in the 3d Volume of the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique.*) Paris: Imprimerie Royale. 1829.

4. *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary.* Compiled from Native Works. By W. H. Medhurst. Batavia: 1830.

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Batavia, in 1835 ; in which the *Chinese* character is first written at the top of the page, then follows the *sound* of that character, expressed in *Corean* letters, after that comes the *Corean* word (both in the vernacular and learned idioms), and finally, the *Japanese*, all expressed in Corean letters.* Besides, it is a well-known fact, that there are various native dictionaries, in *Chinese*, with Japanese explanations ; and in *Japanese*, with interpretations in Chinese. Chinese books, with *interlineary* Japanese translations, are also used in Japan.†

It will be interesting to many readers, who have not had occasion to direct their attention to Japanese literature, to know the curious fact, that the Empress Catherine of Russia, whose great *Comparative Vocabulary* gave a most powerful impulse to philological studies, actually established in her dominions a professorship of the Japanese language, at Irkutsk, in Eastern Siberia. It had been observed, as M. Klaproth states, for a century,

"that Japanese vessels had been driven by stress of weather upon the coasts of Kamchatka. These vessels, being ordinarily intended merely for the coasting trade along the shores of Japan, were not properly equipped to be at sea for a long time, and their crews were accordingly always found reduced by hunger and distress to one half, or one third of their original number. Russian hospitality never failed to receive these unfortunate shipwrecked men ; and the commanding officers in Kamchatka, conformably to their orders, sent them to Irkutsk, because, according to the laws of Japan, no person born in that kingdom, and having quitted it, can return to it again under the penalty of death. The Empress Catherine the Second, desiring to turn to account the residence of those unfortunate persons in her dominions, established at Irkutsk a *School for Navigation*, and with it a professor's chair for the *Japanese Language ;* which probably yet remains. The chair is always filled by a Japanese, who teaches his native language to some of the young Russians ; but these pupils seldom make much progress."

M. Klaproth adds, that during his residence at Irkutsk, in 1805 and 1806, the chair was occupied by a Japanese named *Sinsou*, a native of Issei, who, being converted to the Greek

* This work is published under the name of *Philo-Sinensis;* who is understood to be the Reverend W. Medhurst, the intelligent missionary in the East.

† See Mr. Medhurst's recent *Account of China*, p. 276, Amer. edit. It should be remarked, that Mr. Medhurst's work was not published till a long time after Mr. Du Ponceau's various publications on this subject.

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religion, had taken the Russian name of *Kolotygin*, and for his name of baptism and surname, *Nikolaï Petrovitch.**

We must now ask the reader's attention, for a few moments, to the instance of the *Corean* language; which, as Mr. Gutzlaff justly observes, is but little known. The inhabitants of that peninsula, it is constantly asserted, understand the *written* language of China; but this is not the fact; though it is true, that they, like the Japanese, have a mixture of Chinese in their language.

The simple fact above stated by us, that we have now before us a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, *Corean*, and Japanese languages, compiled by a *native of Corea*, sufficiently shows, that the people of that country require translations of Chinese books, and cannot read the written character of China, without having studied it. In Corea, the Chinese is a *learned language;* and the inhabitants would pronounce a man to be "illiterate" who could not read it; as Captain Hall says he was considered, by the people of the Loo-Choo Islands, for the same reason. The Corean alphabet is very ingenious, being at once syllabic and elementary; but the whole number of characters (several hundred) may be analyzed into fifty-two syllables or elements.

We forbear going into further particulars in respect to this language; and will here add only one general remark on the use of the Chinese *characters* by other nations. Although the Chinese civilized those nations (the Japanese, Coreans, &c.), and introduced their own language and writing among them, yet the Chinese system of writing could not be applied to the idioms of all of them, and the natives accordingly devised alphabets, or graphic systems, of their own. The *Cochin-Chinese* and *Tonquinese*, however, whose languages are monosyllabic, adopted the Chinese system, but with modifications, to adapt it to their idioms; and, what is a most material fact in relation to the ideographic theory, those nations, in numberless instances, applied the Chinese characters to the *sound* which they wanted to represent, and not to the *sense* of the character.

We shall now advert to the case of the *Cochin-Chinese*, who, it is asserted, also make use of the written language of China, in common with the inhabitants of that empire, though they cannot understand the spoken language. The two important Cochin-Chinese Vocabularies, which were the imme-

* *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Tom. III. p. 19, (for January, 1829.)

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diate occasion of Mr. Du Ponceau's publication, and which we have now before us, afford ample materials for deciding this question.

The mere fact, in this case, as in that of the Japanese, is, that in Cochin-China, the Chinese is a learned language, and as such is understood by educated persons. The Cochin-Chinese have, it is true, adapted the characters of it to their own spoken language, but not without many modifications; and, as we just now observed, in thus applying them they frequently appear to pay more regard to the *sound* than to the *meaning* of the characters, as used by the Chinese themselves. Thus, as Mr. Du Ponceau observes, the character *tsan* or *san* (in his accompanying plates), which in Chinese means *drizzling rain*, is applied in *Cochin-Chinese* to the word *sam*, thunder; the character *ko*, a lance, to *qua*, yesterday; *kin*, metal, to *kim*, a needle, &c. As much stress is laid upon this case of the Cochin-Chinese (including the other Anamitic dialects) in support of the prevailing opinion, that they use a written language in common with the Chinese, we shall, in addition to the examples above cited from Mr. Du Ponceau's work, give a few others from Morrone's Vocabulary, which will show, that this is not the fact; but that, on the contrary, they use Chinese characters just as they find them convenient, with or without changes or modifications, and not with reference to their signification in Chinese; as in English we use the Roman elementary characters (or letters) without regard to the powers which they had in the language of the Romans, from whom we have borrowed them. The valuable Notes furnished by M. de la Palun (late French consul at Richmond, Virginia), who was a pupil of Rémusat, and well versed in the Chinese language, will supply all the elucidations necessary to make the subject intelligible to every reader. We copy a few examples, with the characters, from the original manuscript vocabulary, only translating them into English. Accordingly, in the first of the following columns, after the characters, will be found the Cochin-Chinese word as pronounced in that language, with the meaning affixed to it; and then the sound and meaning affixed to the character by the Chinese. The remaining examples are extracted from Mr. Du Ponceau's printed copy, but compared with the manuscript. The reader will thus be enabled to see, at a glance, that written characters, which are applied by two nations in senses so widely different as many

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of them are, cannot be used as a common language between them, except as in the case of French and other European languages, when both nations have studied them.

	Cochin-Chinese.		*Chinese, of De Guignes.*	
	Khi,	*time.*	Kỹ,	*to despise.*
	Dêm,	*night.*	Tién,	*a shop.*
	Cha,	*a father.*	Tchá,	*to be angry.*
	Cổ,	*the neck.*	Kòu,	*ancient.*
	Giây,	*paper.*	Sĭe,	*to tie* or *bind.*
	Chổi,	*a broom.*	Tchỹ,	*fetters.*

The following examples are extracted from the Vocabulary as printed by Mr. Du Ponceau, to whose work we must refer the reader for the characters themselves. They may be readily found by the numbers affixed to them.

	Cochin-Chinese.	*Chinese.*
" 58	Cay, *trees and woods.*	He, *stone,* or *seed of a fruit.*
60	Goe, *trunk of a tree.*	Wo, *a house.*
67	Rung, *a forest.*	Ling, *an angle ; square piece of wood.*
70	Chuoi, *figs.*	Tchy, *shackles* (compedes)
74	Bo song, *the banks of a river.*	Po, *a hillock ; a mound of earth for a sepulchre.* [The *bank of a river*, in Chinese, according to Morrison's Anglo-Chinese Dictionary, verbo *Bank*, is *te pa*, in two characters. Why do not the Cochin-Chinese use these?]
88	Que, *fatherland* (patria)	Kwei, *a kind of sceptre.*
95	Nguoi ta, *man.*	1. Gai, *some impediment ;* 2. Sie, *a little, not much.*
98	Me, *mother.*	May, *a woman of an elegant figure and pleasing countenance.*
117	Ten linh, *the soldiers.*	1. Sien, *before ;* 2. Ling, *another.*
125	Oc, *the brain.*	Wo, *fat.*
127	Chan may, *eyebrows.*	Tching, *happiness.*
142	Vai, *the shoulders.*	Wei, *light of the sun.*

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154	Mong tai, *the nails.*	Mang, *to gather.*
172	Ao, *the coat.*	Yaou, *the earth producing things out of season.*
189	Phong, *room* or *chamber.*	Fang, *a dyke or embankment.*
193	Kinh, *a mirror.*	King, *term, end, limits.* [In Chinese, employed to indicate the pronunciation of another character for *King*, a mirror; which shows, that the sound has been more attended to than the sense.]
196	Nem, *a bed cover, blanket.*	Men, *a rope of bamboo.*
197	Mong, *a curtain.*	Mong, *a dream.*
198	Goi, *pillows.*	Hoey, *to paint.*
217	Keo, *scissors.*	1. Kin, *gold.* 2. Chin, *an arrow.* 3. Kow, *a measure of capacity.* [All these approximate in *sound*, but not in *sense*.]
232	Kim, *a needle.*	Kin, *metal.* [We notice this word, particularly, to show how firmly great men adhere to preconceived opinions. A late eminent Sinologist in Paris, when this word was put to him as an example against the *ideographic* hypothesis, still boldly affirmed, that in no language could *kim* signify a *needle*. Yet, in the face of all theory, we have here proof, that it does actually mean a *needle*, in the language of Cochin-China.]
236	Bac, *silver.*	Po, *to land, bring a ship to shore.*
237	Vang, *gold.*	Hoang, *a large bell.*
241	Chi, *lead.*	Y, *a sort of kettle.*
259	Com, *rice.*	Kan, *sweet.*
290	Khien, *ants.*	Tching, *a kind of oysters.*"

The reader will find a few other instances of these discrepancies between the Chinese and Cochin-Chinese languages, in some of the words contained in the following table; which we subjoin, however, not with that view, but as a specimen of one of the manuscripts before mentioned. This list of words was originally selected by our learned countryman, the Reverend Dr. Jenks, of Boston, to accompany Captain White's voyage, and was published in the *American* edition of that work; but in the reprint of the Voyage in England, it was suppressed, — another indication, we regret to say, though a slight one, of the little interest taken by our English brethren in Chinese studies.

In copying this table, we ought to add, that we have for our present purpose so far deviated from Dr. Jenks's arrangement, as to transpose his columns, and place them in the following order; 1. the characters; 2. the Cochin-Chinese sounds or words; 3. their meaning, in English; and 4. the Chinese sounds or words.

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	Cochin-Chinese, of Father Morrone.		*Chinese, of De Guignes.*
代	Dời	*time, life*	Tay′
意悶	Y′ muôn′	*the will*	Y′ mén
躰体	Than	*limbs, bodily members*	Tyˇ [chin pen]*
跪	Quì	*the knees*	Koùˇey
世間	Thê gian	*the world (universe)*	Chí kiēn
坦	Dâ′t	*the earth*	Tànˇ (plain)
民	Diân	*the people (subjects)*	Mîn
城	Thành	*a city*	Tchîˇng (walls)
官	Quan	*magistrates*	Koũan
墻	Vách	*a wall, the walls*	Tsiâˇng
車	Xe [she]	*a chariot, car, carriage*	Tchēˇ
茶	Tra	*tea*	Tchâˇ
冊	Sach	*a book*	Tsĕˇ
冊傳	Sâchtruyên	*a book of history*	Tsĕˇ tchoùˇen [tchouan]
刁	Diao	*a knife*	Tão
金	Kim	*a needle*	Kīn (metal)
釘	Dinh	*a nail*	Tīng
金皂	Chì	*lead*	Y′ (kettle)
金失	Sát	*iron*	Tchў *for* tiĕˇ †
金同	Dông`	*brass*	Tŏˇng
泊	Bac	*silver*	Po (to land)
边北	Bên bắc	*the northern quarter*	Koùey (*orbit*) pĕ
边東	Ben dông	— *eastern* ——	Koùey tōng
边南	Ben nam	— *southern* ——	Koùey nân
边西	Ben tay	— *western* ——	Koùey ssé [sy *or* si]

* Note from M. de la Palun ; " The first character is the 158th [Chinese]

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We must now bring our remarks on Mr. Du Ponceau's important volume to a close, though we are sensible of not having done justice to the great subjects which are so ably discussed by him, and which afford room for much more ample developements than would be admissible in our pages. The learned author himself has, perhaps, aimed at too great condensation, presuming too much upon his reader's knowledge of the subject; and he may, consequently, be misunderstood by those persons who have not given the requisite attention to the points discussed, to qualify them to judge of his labors. Whether it has been owing to this cause (we hope it has not been to any one less worthy of a candid and liberal critic), that he has fallen under the animadversion of a writer in an English review of respectable standing, we do not know.* But certain it is, that the reviewer in question has misstated various opinions, which are assumed without reason to be those of Mr. Du Ponceau.

The reviewer admits, that, in England, "it is but too much the fashion to hold certain opinions on Oriental language and history, as so many articles of faith, and the more so, when all known facts militate the most strongly against them." Absurd as this is, the reviewer seems determined to be in the fashion; and he accordingly wonders at the boldness of Mr. Du Ponceau in holding opinions opposite to those of "the learned of all Europe and of China itself"; while, however, he avows his respect for that "independence of judgment, which spurns following a tract [?] merely because it is usual." †

He misstates Mr. Du Ponceau's conclusions, when he states the following to be his results;

"1. That the Chinese character contains, like alphabetic spelling, the elements of the sound, or word;" and

"2. That the word, or name of a thing, precedes the idea of it in the mind." ‡

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radical, *chin*, the body. Father Morrone has probably forgotten to give its pronunciation. The second character is pronounced [in Chinese] *pen*, ignorant, coarse. *De Guignes*, 164. It is vulgarly employed for *thy*, the members of the body. *De G.* 12651. These two characters together are pronounced *chin pen*, and signify, as in Cochin-Chinese, *the members of the body*, or the limbs."

† "*Tchy*, to sew clothes. *De G.* 11419. But this character is also used for *Tie*, iron. *De G.* 11593." (*De la Palun.*)

* *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 42; for July, 1838.

† Page 318, London edition. ‡ Page 343.

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Now we are not aware, that Mr. Du Ponceau has said any such thing as is here charged upon him. He has not said that the Chinese characters represent *elements of sounds*; he has, indeed, stated, that they represent *words*, — which are sounds, — but not by the same elements. The Chinese characters are divisible into two classes. The simple characters, which are about two hundred, originally were figurative, according to Morrison, whom Mr. Du Ponceau expressly quotes to this point (pp. xv. xvi. of his *Introduction*), though this reviewer wonders at him for asserting this upon *his own* authority, and denies the fact himself upon the authority of those theoretical empirics, De Pauw and Hager! Mr. Du Ponceau, still relying upon Morrison, observes, that these characters have ceased to be figurative, and are become arbitrary; and he concludes, therefore, that they represent nothing but the words to which they are attached; that they represent a complex sound, as the letters of the Western languages do simple ones, and occasionally compounds, as in Greek, Ξ, Ψ, &c. The Chinese sounds, it is true, are each *coupled with an idea*, which they recall to the mind; so, also, are some of our English simple sounds, as the vowels, or words, *A* and *I*. But this makes no difference; our mind still receives the idea through the sound.

As to the compound characters, they are composed, by joining together two or more of the simple ones; these are the elements of the Chinese alphabet. The elements of our alphabets are the representation of sounds *without* meaning; those of the Chinese are sounds coupled *with* meaning; and this is all the difference.

The reviewer has misstated Mr. Du Ponceau's views again, in representing him as maintaining, that the word, or name of a thing, precedes the idea of it in the mind; and he takes credit to himself for combating this error! Now, what will be the reader's surprise to know, that Mr. Du Ponceau has asserted no such thing. His views, as we understand them, are; — in the first place, that the Chinese characters, having no outward *figure* to present ideas to the mind, can only present them through the *words* which they represent or recall; that there is nothing in their form which can awaken an idea. It is, therefore, true, that in this case the *recollection* of the words precedes the idea; but Mr. Du Ponceau never asserted, that this is so generally, as the reviewer would

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have it understood. Ideas without words are vague and confused; they can be fixed only by words; and no idea comes into the mind of a Chinese, but through words.

The elements of Chinese writing are, a group of words to represent another word, — a method, which is made requisite by the great number of words to be represented. Those *elements*, as we have already observed, are sounds coupled with meaning; ours, on the contrary (with the exceptions before stated), are sounds without meaning. Thus, says Mr. Du Ponceau, (p. xix.) "we combine the [non-significant] letters of our alphabet to give them a meaning, which, separately, they have not. The Chinese combine their significant characters to give to the groups thus formed a meaning which none of them possess separately."

But it is not our object to write an answer to this reviewer. We only wish to let our readers see, that he has made material misstatements of Mr. Du Ponceau's reasoning and conclusions; and in that manner has argued down opinions, which never could have entered the mind of the latter.

We will add one remark on the subject of framing words from their constituent elements, as curiously exemplified in the aboriginal languages of America. "Nothing," says Mr. Schoolcraft, as cited by Mr. Du Ponceau in his *Mémoire* above referred to, "can be more unlike than the [Chippeway] language, considered in its primitive and elementary state, — in a vocabulary, for example, where the words are in their simple forms, — and the same language when those elements are amalgamated in the customary forms of speech. ..... The words of this language are of a nature so variable and so *transpositive*, that, like the pieces on a chess-board, their elementary syllables can change their places, to form new combinations and accommodate themselves to new circumstances." In other words, the selection of these elements, or syllables and parts of words, depends upon the taste and will of the speaker. Mr. Du Ponceau explains this, by comparing it to the inversions of phrases in the Latin tongue, to which it manifestly bears an analogy. But what has most surprised us is, that, independently of the knowledge of the *fact* here stated by Mr. Schoolcraft, the late great and lamented philologist, Baron William Humboldt, had, by the mere force of his genius and wonderful sagacity, drawn the same conclusion. In his great posthumous work, he says; "From an

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example given by Du Ponceau, (*kuligatchis*,) one is led to conclude, that it depends upon the speaker to change whole words or parts of words, and combine them together in one locution, &c." *

We shall conclude our remarks, with a brief recapitulation of some of the results stated by Mr. Du Ponceau.

He has, we think, established by a very satisfactory course of reasoning the several propositions which we have before quoted from him at large; † and has successfully combated the old and general opinion, that the Chinese system of writing is *ideographic*; showing that the characters do not represent *ideas*, but *words*, which recall *ideas*.

He is the first writer, to our knowledge, who has observed the important fact, that the Cochin-Chinese, in numerous instances, applied the Chinese characters to the *sound*, and not to the *meaning*, of the words represented by them; a fact, which clearly proves that the characters are not *ideographic*. We may here add a remark, which has often occurred to us on this subject; that the Chinese characters are each applied to numerous things, and may (some of them) have thirty or forty meanings, according to the accent or inflexions of the voice. Now we ask, how is it possible, that any such written character can be *ideographic*; in other words, how such a character can be the *picture* of so many different things at the same time?

Conformably to these views, Mr. Du Ponceau has, with much skill and judgment systematized the science of written signs, or *graphology*, as he has somewhere called it, by dividing the systems of writing into three classes;— *lexigraphic*, for entire words, like the Chinese; *syllabic*, for syllables not having necessarily an acknowledged meaning; and *elementary*, for what we call *letters*, or the least component part of a syllable. And, in respect to the case of *arithmetical figures*, to which the Chinese characters are likened, his opinion is, that they can never constitute *a language*, though they are auxiliary to some sciences, like telegraphic signs, &c.; but their use must always be very limited.

The *ideologists*, if we may use the term, argue, that the Chinese characters perpetuate the meaning or *ideas*, while alphabetical characters perpetuate *sounds* only; but neither of these propositions is true. The latter is not true; for if it

* *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java.* Vol. I. Introd. p. cccxxxii. 4to. Berlin, 1836.

† Pages 289, 290.

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were, we should now have the pronunciation of the Latin and Greek languages, whereas we do not even know that of our own language four hundred years ago, as any one may see by turning to his *Chaucer*, in verses where the metre does not agree with the syllables as we now read them. The words *grace* and *face*, for example, may have been dissyllables, — according to the pronunciation of the Gascons, and introduced by them while Gascony was an English province ; or, to take another example, how were the Norman French words, *jeo*, *ceo*, pronounced ? Mr. Du Ponceau conjectures, indeed, and upon good grounds, that *ceo* was pronounced as at the present day, in the *patois* of *Poitou*, that is, *tcho*, giving the *c* the Italian sound.* Again ; it may be asked, in our own language, how Shakspeare pronounced the word *aches*, which brought such a torrent of ridicule upon the tragedian Kemble, who made a dissyllable of it.

But, though sounds are lost, the groups of letters called *words* retain their meaning quite as much as the Chinese characters ; so that we can still read and understand Homer and Virgil, without knowing how they spoke ; to say nothing of the syllabic groups of letters of the Sanscrit, — a language long since dead, — the ancient Coptic, Persian, Zend, &c.

Here we are reminded of a common remark of the sinologists (adopted by Mr. Barrow†), that the Chinese characters speak equally strong to the deaf and dumb as to others. So do our groups of *letters*. Deaf and dumb persons, who never heard a sound in their lives, are taught to read and understand our books; and, we would ask, can Chinese characters do more ?

It is most manifest, that tradition alone keeps up and preserves the connexion between written or spoken *signs* and *ideas* ; but *written* signs are only a *secondary* method, and were not intended to communicate ideas except through *words* ; because language was invented before writing, and men could not have agreed upon the meaning of written signs, except as that meaning was clothed in the words of the language to which the characters were to be applied.

We cannot conclude the present article, without adding a few remarks upon the supposed difficulty of learning the Chinese language. It has been the fate of this curious dialect of one third part of the human race, to be enveloped in mystery,

* See his *Mémoire*, p. 102.

† *Voyage to China*, chap. 6.

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ever since Europeans have known that there was such a language on the globe. The impression of its extreme difficulty was, doubtless, first derived from the accounts given of it by some of the early Catholic missionaries; and one of them, Father Nic. Longobardus, a Jesuit, so long ago as the year 1598, in a letter to his Superior, says, he was congratulated by one of his Chinese friends, on having finished reading two of their books, one *De Adultorum Disciplinâ*, and the other *De Medio Sempiterno*, as if he had accomplished a great task; but, though his Chinese friend, with a little national vanity, declared that no person, except a native, could understand those books, the reverend Father adds, — very frankly adds, — "I found no more difficulty than in going through Cicero or Livy." * The opinion of its great difficulty, however, has been very general to the present day. But this and the other mysteries attendant on it, are now in some measure dissipated. Mr. Davis, whose practical knowledge of the subject is entitled to some deference on this point, — notwithstanding the sad failures in some of his *Translations* from the Chinese, for which he was too severely criticized on the Continent, — Mr. Davis, we say, assures us, that "the rumored difficulties, from the great number and variety of the characters are the mere exaggerations of ignorance"; † and Mr. Du Ponceau's investigations have shown, that this language is not so very different from others in many of the particulars in question. It is true, that writers on this subject, from age to age, have continued to tell us of the eighty thousand characters, or words; yet a small part of these are in general use, and the rest slumber quietly in the national dictionaries, as a great proportion of our English words do in the vocabularies of our own lexicographers. *Prémare*, whose most valuable grammar (*Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ*) has at length been published by the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, assures us, that after knowing *five* or *six* thousand characters, no book will stop one; and the Chinese themselves agree, that *ten* thousand are sufficient for a *scholar*, or lettered man, to know. Rémusat, also, in the Preface to his Grammar says, that the Chinese language "may be learned like any other, *and does not require any greater effort of attention or memory*."

* *Epist. a P. Nicolao Longobardo, anno* 1598, *ab Sinis scriptæ*, etc.; (in the Latin Collection, published by J. Hayes, 1605.)

† Davis's *China*, Vol. II. p. 141.

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It is true, that many characters have the same sound, and this occasions ambiguity. But that happens in all other languages; as in English (to take our examples from Mr. Du Ponceau), when we use the words or characters *fain*, *fane*, or *feign*, the ear can ascertain the meaning by the context alone; and in French, *cens*, *cent*, *sang*, *sans*, *sens*, *sent*, are like so many Chinese written words, having but one sound.*

Again; the want of inflections, and the promiscuous use of the same word as a verb, noun, or adjective, at pleasure, are imagined to be a source of great difficulty; yet in these particulars the Chinese language is not so very different from our own, as we should, without reflection, be led to suppose. Thus, to take an example from Dr. Marshman's valuable Chinese Grammar, (*Clavis Sinica*,) the word *sound*, if it follows an article, is a substantive, *a sound;* if it follows a personal pronoun, it becomes a verb neuter, as *I sound*, *they sound*, or, with an object, an active or causal verb, *they sound the bell;* or, if it is placed between an article and a substantive, it becomes an adjective, as, *a sound vessel.* So much does the meaning and grammatical character of words in English, as well as in Chinese, depend upon their juxta-position; verifying the just remark of Humboldt, that, in some of our modern languages, *especially in English*, phrases of considerable length may be constructed "which are perfectly Chinese."† Ambiguities must, from the imperfection incident to all human language, happen among the Chinese, as well as other nations. We may add, however, as an amusing singularity, that, as no new word can be introduced without the imperial authority, so an ambiguity, even in a man's name, can be removed by the same power; as will be seen by the following curious proclamation from the "Government Gazette," at Pekin, — "Whereas, the names of the Viceroy of Yunnen, and the Lieutenant-General of that province, being *pronounced* alike, though *differently written*, may occasion some confusion, it is therefore ordered, that the Lieutenant-General, *Shoo-lin* do change his name to *Schoo-ching*." *Edict of May 15th*, 1800. Our host of English and American *John-Smiths*, would soon be extinguished in the Celestial Empire.

* *Mémoire*, p. 42.
† *Lettre à M. Abel Rémusat*, p. 16.

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Many other alleged difficulties might be noticed, if our limits would permit. There are, in the Chinese, Cochin-Chinese, and other languages of that family, delicacies and peculiarities of idiom, accent, and tone, which foreigners never can acquire, any more than a Chinese could learn English so perfectly, as to pass for a native. In the Cochin-Chinese, for example, the natives speak in a *singing* tone, almost like the recitative of an Italian opera; as Captain White has personally informed us (with an imperfect imitation of the tones), and as is stated by Father Morrone, who says of their mode of utterance, "When they speak, they sing."* These niceties, however, are wholly unimportant to the philological student, or any other person, who does not intend to reside among the natives, but only wishes to acquire the written language; and this, we are convinced, can be accomplished with very little, if any more labor, than is necessary in learning any other language.

Art. VIII. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *American Education; or, Strictures on the Nature, Necessity, and Practicability of a System of National Education, suited to the United States.* By the Rev. Benjamin O. Peers. *With an Introductory Letter*, by Francis L. Hawks, D. D. New York: Published by John L. Taylor. 1838. 12mo. pp. 364.

Let any man, dwelling in the United States, consider this fact; that he is living in the midst of some millions of human beings, having strong bodies, strong wills, clear heads, and mighty passions; let him consider, further, that these millions suffer him to pursue his business, and sleep quietly at night, because they see it to be their interest, or feel it to be their duty, to do so, but that, as soon as they cease to see their interest, or feel their duty, they may pull his house about his ears and hang him upon the nearest tree; — and he will feel, to his heart's core, the necessity of wide-spread moral and religious education *to his own safety*. And, should he go one

* *MS. Vocab.* Dr. Ruschenberger, in his account of the Embassy of Mr. Roberts, says the same.

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step further, asking how he could excuse himself were he to close his ears against the cries of boys and girls starving in the streets, and then remember that every crime is the inarticulate groan of a starving soul, and he will feel the necessity of universal religious education upon the nobler ground of his own duties. Religious education ; not intellectual education, — that of itself protects no man ; — not moral education, for morality without religion is for the mass of men impossible ; but religious education is wanted, nay, Christian education. Our government rests upon Christianity, as its basis. Take from man the Christian views of human nature, and liberty, equality, and republicanism would be perfectly farcical ; and in no way can we retain liberty and a republic but through the influence of Christian truth.

The purpose of the work before us is to make clear the absolute necessity that exists for giving to all our people Christian views and motives. We hear enough of our rights ; let us hear something of God's right and of our duties. The cry, that our rulers are our servants, rings through the land ; let us not be backward in spreading the counter-cry, that we are all servants of Christ. How is this to be done ? By the influence of schools, in a great measure. And, to make them effective, we must have teachers of the highest class ; and to secure such teachers we must pay them, and, more than all, honor them. The meeting at Exeter, held last August, when some of the first men of New England assembled to do honor to Dr. Abbot, their old schoolmaster, will long be a beacon-light. The time is gone by, when teaching was not one of the liberal professions ; it now must take rank with the very highest of human employments.

Such is the faith of Mr. Peers, himself an enthusiastic and excellent teacher. And he has ably set forth the need of Christian instruction ; the obligation to give it to all, leaving no soul to perish ; and the impossibility of doing it by the means now in use, with teachers whose salaries are barely enough to keep them from the alms-house, and schools in which there are ten children where there should be but one.

But is it possible to educate all ? Our author answers, that it is, if we but have it at heart, and will give time, labor, and money to the work. Legislatures cannot do the work, neither can societies ; but you, and I, and every man must do it. Do any doubt ? We answer, it is not yet proved impossible. And a true man has but one course to tread in any such case. Let him do his utmost fearlessly, heartily, and in good faith, and forget not that there is a God working with him.

This little book by Mr. Peers, we commend to all, as earn-

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estly and ably written, and as the result of much experience. On some points, we do not agree with him. We think the community called on to do more than educate its members so far as to secure its own safety ; and we think, he insists somewhat more than enough upon the necessity of *paying*, as compared with *respecting* teachers. But his views are all freely spoken, and made alive by a true Christian spirit. May he find many and interested listeners !

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2. — *Life of Joseph Brant*, (Thayendanegea,) &c., by W. L. Stone. 2 vols. 8vo. New York : George Dearborn & Co.

When we first heard that Colonel Stone was writing the life of the great Mohawk chieftain, we thought it would come forth in a neat duodecimo, and would contain the personal history of that remarkable red man, a chapter or two on the Wyoming affair, in which Brant would be proved to have had no hand, and perhaps a disquisition upon Indian customs and peculiarities. We found, therefore, not without surprise, two large octavo volumes, containing more than eleven hundred pages ; and, though the title-page in part explained the size of the work, as it states the contents to be, not only the Life of Brant, but "the border wars of the Revolution, the campaigns of Harmer, St. Clair, and Wayne, and other matters connected with the Indian relations of the United States and Great Britain, from 1783 to 1795," it was not till we opened the volumes that we fully understood their great extent. Then we found, that they gave a general history of all the events which occurred in the United States during Brant's life, with large and original details of those varied scenes in which he, directly or indirectly, took part.

Whether Colonel Stone would not have done more wisely, had he confined himself to the relation of those events in which his hero was concerned, may be doubted. By going over too large a field, he has broken that unity which should be the first thing sought in a work of history ; and the result is, that his volumes have in part the character of annals, in part that of narrative. Joseph Warren, and Lord Chatham, and Logan, with his wonderful speech, rise from their graves, and pass before us, and are gone again ere we can say, "Stand !" Lexington, Bunker's Hill, Long Island, and every scene of revolutionary suffering and warfare are named, and left again, with a celerity which supposes an acquaintance with those scenes

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on the part of the reader, and so serves rather to embarrass, than help the narrative. Had these references to great events been thrown into notes, and the story been suffered to flow on uninterrupted, we think it would have had more interest.

But, as it is, it cannot be said to lack interest ; for it treats of interesting times and interesting men, and does this in a familiar, minute, and interesting manner. The writer has used great diligence in collecting materials, and has secured some which are of most undoubted historic value, such as the papers of Brant himself, which throw a light upon the frontier occurrences of the years from 1783 to 1796, that has been hitherto wanting. He has also procured and used some of the original papers of Sir William Johnson, those of General Herkimer, General James Clinton, General Gansevoort, and other men of that day ; and has drawn largely from the correspondence of Brant with John Johnson, President Willard, the Duke of Northumberland, and others. Indeed, a large proportion of these volumes may be looked on as consisting of truly original contributions to American history, and to a very important and hitherto dark portion of that history, the Indian relations during, and immediately subsequent to, the Revolution. Much of the new matter is of the most authentic kind, being derived from letters and journals written at the time. Some again is drawn from conversations of the author with various persons. Colonel Stone appears to have compared and sifted all such oral evidence with due diligence, but it must be always received with great caution. For, strange as it many seem, the statements of those who were concerned in an event which took place many years before, are among the lowest kinds of testimony ; so apt are we to forget, and change, and displace facts, and even to state as within our own knowledge, what in truth we heard from another.

But it is not our purpose at this time to enter into an examination of this Life of Brant. We intend soon to discuss at some length the events to which it refers, and may then speak in detail of its contents, their arrangement, and the style of the work.

The volumes contain two prints of Brant, both from original paintings ; also, an engraving of his son; one of General Gansevoort ; an excellent outline sketch of the Conference of General Lincoln, Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, with the Indians at Buffalo Creek, in 1793 ; the plans of one or two marches ; and an engraving of Red Jacket from Weir's picture. The print last-named we do not think any ornament to the work ; the painting was good, and the engraved plate good, but it is now too much worn to give impressions worthy of such volumes.

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3. — 1. *Speech of* Mr. Cushing, *of Massachusetts, on the Subject of the Oregon Territory, delivered in the House of Representatives, May 17th and 22d,* 1838. Washington: Gales & Seaton. 8vo. pp. 13.

2. *Report of* Mr. Linn, *of Missouri, on the Part of the Select Committee of the Senate, to which was referred a Bill to authorize the President of the United States to occupy the Oregon Territory, June 6th,* 1838. Washington: Blair & Rives. With Two Maps. 8vo. pp. 23.

One of the extraordinary political phenomena of the age is presented by the unblushing pretensions of the English government to territory of these United States. While Great Britain is remonstrating, and that reasonably, against any hostile enterprises of our citizens on the side of Canada, she is putting a sober diplomatic face on a claim (one of the boldest ever ventured by an ambitious power) to about a third part of one of the States of this Union, while at the Northwest she more than encourages her citizens to help themselves to a country of ours worth half as much, at least, as the whole of British North America put together, and resists a peaceable adjustment of the controversy she has raised, till by actual settlement she shall have given more plausibility to her claim. We have thought it our duty, from time to time, to furnish to our readers some materials for forming a judgment on the arrogance of these assumptions; and having not long ago discussed at length the question of the Northeastern boundary, (Vol. xliii. p. 413, *et seq.*) we have presented, in the present number, some statements relating to the right of this country to the Oregon territory, both on the ground of discovery, and of succession to the right of Spain. The subject was taken up at the last session of Congress, and brought before the Senate in the Report of Dr. Linn, with the formality and seriousness which its importance demands; while in the Speech of Mr. Cushing, in the other House, it was handled with that exact research and clear exposition, which distinguish the arguments of that gentleman. In such hands it will not be permitted to be lost sight of, nor suffer any other injustice.

ERRATA.

Page	8,	*line*	22,	*for*	Vitelliu,	*read* Viteliu.
"	13,	"	22,	"	Liguri,	" Ligures.
"	15,	"	5,	"	Grecia,	" Græcia.
"	15,	"	33,	"	Picinum,	" Picenum.
"	16,	"	23,	"	Petruzzi,	" Prætutii.
"	219,	"	10,	"	Pentanger,	" Peutinger.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The Youth's Keepsake. A Christmas and New Year's Gift for Young People. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 195.

The Christian Keepsake, and Missionary Annual. Edited by the Rev. John A. Clark. 1839. Philadelphia: William Marshall & Co. 8vo. pp. 312.

The Gift; a Christmas and New Year's Present, for 1839. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 18mo. pp. 328.

The Religious Souvenir, for 1839. Edited by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. New York: Scofield & Voorhies. 18mo. pp. 288.

The Juvenile Scrap Book and Youth's Annual, for 1839. Providence: S. R. Weedar. 18mo. pp. 180.

The Violet; a Christmas and New Year's Gift, or Birthday Present, for 1839. Edited by Miss Leslie. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart. 18mo. pp. 216.

The Juvenile Forget-Me-Not. A Christmas, New Year's, and Birthday Present, for 1839. Philadelphia: T. T. Ash & H. F. Anners. 18mo. pp. 180.

The Lily; a Holiday Present, with Steel Engravings. New York: E. Sands. 18mo. pp. 232.

Peter Parley's Christmas Tales, for 1839. New York: Samuel Colman. 16mo. pp. 252.

Peter Parley's Gift, for 1839. New York: Samuel Colman, and Wiley & Putnam. 16mo. pp. 168.

Brown's Improved Almanac, Pocket-Memorandum, and Account Book, for the year 1839. Containing, in addition to the usual matter, Portraits of several of the most distinguished American Politicians and Literary Men of the Present Time. Published Annually. No. II. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 18mo. pp. 70.

The Ladies' Annual Register, and House-Wife's Memorandum Book, for 1839. By Caroline Gilman. With an Almanac. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 12mo. pp. 104.

The Child's Gem. New York: S. Colman. pp. 144.

A Christmas Gift from Fairy Land. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo.

The New Hampshire Annual Register, and United States Calendar, for the year 1839. By Jacob B. Moore. No. XVIII. Concord: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 12mo. pp. 143.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

The Revolutionary Adventures of Ebenezer Fox, of Roxbury, Mass. Boston: Munroe & Francis. 18mo. pp. 238.

Memoir of William Randall Saxton, of Lebanon, (Conn.,) with the Funeral Sermon. By Charles T. Torrey, Pastor of the Howard Street Church, Salem. Salem: W. & S. B. Ives. 18mo. pp. 130.

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The Life of George Washington. Written for the Use of Schools. By John Marshall, late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Philadelphia: James Crissy. 12mo. pp. 379.

EDUCATION.

A Grammar of the Italian Language. By Pietro Bachi, Instructor in Harvard University. A New Edition, revised and improved, with the Addition of Practical Exercises, and numerous Illustrations drawn from the Italian Classics. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. London: R. J. Kennett. 12mo. pp. 568.

Caii Crispi Sallustii de Catalinæ Conjuratione Belloque Jugurthino Historiæ. Sallust's Histories of the Conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War. From the Text of Gerlach. With English Notes. Edited by Henry R. Cleveland, A. M. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 12mo. pp. 198.

Introduction to the German Language, comprising a German Grammar, with an Appendix of important Tables and other Matter; and a German Reader, consisting of Selections from the Classical Literature of Germany, accompanied by Explanatory Notes, and a Vocabulary adapted to the Selections. By David Fosdick, Jr. Andover: Gould & Newman. 12mo. pp. 270.

Fables de la Fontaine, avec des Notes Historiques, Mythologiques, et Grammaticales, à l'Usage des Colléges et des Écoles. Par F. Sales, Maître de Français et d'Espagñol à l'Université de Harvard. Boston: Jâques Munroe & C^ie^. 12mo. pp. 336.

My First School-Book, to teach me, with the Help of my Instructor, to read and spell Words, and understand them. By a Friend of mine. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 18mo. pp. 112.

HISTORY.

A History of the State of Ohio, Natural and Civil. By Caleb Atwater, A. M. Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 403.

LAW.

Reports of Decisions made in the Superior Courts of the Eastern District of Georgia, by Judges Berrien, T. U. P. Charlton, Wayne, Davies, Law, Nicoll, and Robert M. Charlton; and in the Middle Circuit, by Thos. U. P. Charlton. By Robert M. Charlton, late Judge of the Superior Courts of the Eastern District. Savannah: Thomas Purse & Co.

A Charge to the Grand Jury of Adams County, delivered at the opening of the Special Term of the Criminal Court of Mississippi, on the fourth Monday of June, 1838. By J. S. B. Thacher, Judge of that Court. Natchez. 1838.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of New York. By Alonzo C. Paige. Vol. VI. New York. 1838.

Reports of Cases decided in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the Eastern District, December Term 1837, and March 1838. Vol. III. By T. J. Wharton. Philadelphia: Nicklin & Johnson. 1838.

Reports of Cases adjudged in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Third Circuit. Third Edition; including two cases decided in

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the same Court, and hitherto unpublished. By John B. Wallace. Philadelphia: Nicklin & Johnson.

Digest of Cases determined in the Admiralty Courts of the United States, and in the High Court of Admiralty in England. By G. T. Curtis. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

Report of the Surgical Cases and Operations that occurred in the Massachusetts General Hospital, from May 12th, 1837, to May 12th, 1838. By Geo. Hayward, M. D., Surgeon to the Hospital. Boston: D. Clapp, Jr. 8vo. pp. 32.

Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Physic. Delivered in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of the State of New York. By the late David Hosack, M. D., LL. D., F. R. S., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic and of Clinical Medicine in the University of Philadelphia, &c. Edited by his Friend and former Pupil, Henry W. Ducachet, D. D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 8vo. pp. 700.

An Essay on Scarletina. By James Conquest Cross, M. D., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine and Medical Jurisprudence in the Medical Department of Transylvania University. Lexington. 8vo. pp. 48.

Practical Surgery; with one hundred and twenty Engravings on Wood. By Robert Liston, Surgeon. With Notes and Illustrations, by Geo. W. Norris, M. D., one of the Surgeons to the Philadelphia Hospital. Philadelphia: A. Waldie. 8vo. pp. 374.

MISCELLANEOUS.

History of the Controversy in the University of the City of New York, with Original Documents and an Appendix. By the Professors of the Faculty of Science and Letters. New York: John S. Taylor. 8vo. pp. 50, xxviii.

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